

Now we will start further discussion on the Budget. Dr. M. Aram. Let him complete his speech.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA (West Bengal): It is his maiden speech.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: I thought you were to complete your speech.. (*Interruptions*).. Dr. Aram, it is your maiden speech. We welcome you to do that. But that does not mean that I would not ring the bell. You have to confine yourself to a certain time.. (*Interruptions*)..

SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu): It is his maiden speech. Kindly give him the time required, Madam.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Never mind. There are other people also. I have to go by the list.

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### THE BUDGET (GENERAL) 1994-95 *Contd.*

DR. M. ARAM (Nominated): Madam Deputy Chairman, this is the first time I have the great honour and privilege to address this august House. So, may I place on record my profound sense of gratitude to the revered Rashtrapati for nominating me to the Rajya Sabha and also my thanks to the hon. Prime Minister?

Madam, education and rural development have been my twin passions, my life-long preoccupations. So, may I share with hon. Members my thoughts on these two vital dimensions of nation-building with special reference to the Budget for 1994-95

There are special moments in the evolution of a nation when critical developments converge and create a

historic situation. I think, the present is one such moment. For the first time since Independence, a majority of the Indian people are today literate—53 per cent. For the first time, our Constitutional obligation for free and compulsory education for all children—Article 45—is nearing fulfilment. For the first time, the Prime Minister has categorically stated that education will have an outlay of 6 per cent GDP by the end of the decade... (*Interruptions*)... for the first time, an upsurge of people's power, particularly women's power, will occur in this country, in all Panchayats and Municipalities, according to the 73rd and 74th Constitutional amendments. Also, Madam, for the first time, the world community and the UN system are carrying on global crusade for "Education for All by 2000 A.D. The convergence of all these critical developments provides a historic opportunity for education. Sir, today, expenditure on education is not considered expenditure but as investment. At present 3.6 per cent of the GDP is spent on education. But progressively this will increase to 6 per cent by 2000 A.D. This will be reflected in the Ninth Five-Year Plan. Now, there is a strong political will at the highest level. The budget provision for education in 1994-95 is in the order of Rs. 2,423.61 crores, the highest so far.

The 1986 National Policy on Education and the Programme of Action were revised in 1992 and adopted by Parliament. This serves as an excellent framework for educational development. Both NPE and POA were evolved by a consensual process

The first thrust area is the Literacy Mission. This is a success story. At present, 238 Total Literacy Campaigns are going on in the country. What makes the LTC successful? It

is area-specific, time-bound, volunteer-based and result-oriented. The literacy wave first began in Ernakulam district and is now moving all over the country. Kerala and Pondicherry have already achieved total literacy. Karnataka is about to achieve it. Tamil Nadu should not take long. West Bengal has done very well and won the UNESCO award. The real challenge lies in the States of Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and also in Andhra Pradesh. The Bihar Education Project, the U.P. Basic Education Project, the Rajasthan Lok Jumbish Project and the A. P. Primary Education Project are some creative responses to the challenge. The second thrust area is Primary Education. The new District Primary Education Programme lays emphasis on participatory planning and decentralised management. The stress is on the education of the girl child. This programme of "Education for All" will be implemented throughout the country in at least 110 districts during the Eighth Plan period with an outlay of Rs. 195 crores. We could raise additional resources by the levy of an Education Cess.

With qualitative expansion of literacy and elementary education there has been a decline in quality. So, the present attempt is to improve quality and enhance relevance. Elementary education should be enriched. All schools must have music teachers. Health education and consumer education should be introduced. The present burden of text books must be reduced. The recommendations of Yashpal Committee should be implemented. The present syndrome of syllabus-text-book examinations should be replaced by an activity curriculum.

The increase in female literacy will make a positive impact on the population issue. Action research studies have conclusively established

a direct correlation between increased literacy and enhanced acceptance of the small family norm. The more the literacy, the more the acceptance rate of family planning.

If the content of education is not linked to economic development, the result will be educated unemployment. This problem has assumed serious proportions and determined efforts will have to be made to reduce educated unemployment. This problem has assumed serious proportions and determined efforts will have to be made to reduce educated employment. The modern graduate is not only unemployed, but is also unemployable. That is the seriousness of the situation. In Coimbatore district, Sundakkamuthur village was the first to attain 100 per literacy. First we had to conduct a household survey to assess the extent of illiteracy. The Chairman of the Village Planning Committee said—it is an interesting story—"Don't worry, we have many VIPs in our village. The letter "V" stands for Velai, "I" stands for Illada and "P" stands for Pasanga. Velai Illada Pasanga, Young people with no work, no jobs." There are many VIPs here who would take up this household survey." Indeed, they finished the survey in two days.

Madam, one of the major recommendations of the New Education Policy is establishment of a Rural University. The Gandhigram pattern of Rural University combines academic excellence and social relevance and the courses are need-based. A study was made about the graduates who go out of the Gandhigram University of which I had the privilege of being Vice-Chancellor for several years. This study shows that 64 per cent of the graduates are employed immediately and during the year, 20 per cent go for higher studies and 5 per cent are self-employed. The Gandhigram graduates

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become "part of the solution" And not "part of the problem." The Gandhigram model should be replicated with necessary modifications. The National Policy on Education, 1986 says:

"The new pattern of the Rural University will be consolidated and developed on the lines of Mahatma Gandhi's revolutionary ideas on education so as to take up the challenges of micro-planning at grass root level for the transformation of rural areas."

I would urge the Government to take steps to implement the Rural University Scheme. May I also urge the Government to expedite the functioning of the Nagaland University, an area where I worked for many years for peace mission and also to strengthen the finances of the North-Eastern Hill University. I agree with the hon. Member who said that the North-Eastern region should get high priority in the matter of finances.

Madam, the open system of education is an innovative approach to achieve the goal of education for all. Therefore, the open system of education should be expanded and the Budget provision should be augmented.

Coming to rural development, I welcome the massive outlay of Rs. 7010 crores in the Budget for the year 1994-95 which is a 40 per cent increase over the previous year's outlay of Rs. 5010 crores. But the crucial question which many hon. Members have raised here the other day and with which I fully agree is: How will this huge amount be utilised? Will it reach the beneficiaries? Therefore, the present system of implementation will have to be revamped thoroughly and leakages will have to be plugged. Even the attitude of the beneficiary should change.

Repayment ethics should be cultivated. A research study was made around the Gandhigram University. A researcher went to the villagers who were recipients of this aid and they were getting some differential rate of interest. So, they asked, "What is a DIR?" He said, "DIR means differential interest rate." But they said, "DIR means don't insist on repayment." So, repayment ethics has to be developed simultaneously.

Madam, the Seventy-third Constitutional Amendment stipulates that 30 per cent of Panchayat leaders and members will be of women. This, I believe, is a creative factor, a new factor and the emergence of women power will surely help in solving several problems in the countryside. Madam, the Ministry should formulate special training schemes for women panchayat leaders and there should be adequate Budget provisions for this purpose. Madam, 1994, this year, is the year of the 125th Birth Centenary of Mahatma Gandhi, the Father of the Nation. He was indeed a creative genius of the first magnitude. When I met Albert Einstein many years ago, he said the following words which still ring in my ears: "Mahatma Gandhi is the greatest political genius of the modern world. The power of his ideas is bound to grow in the years to come." Even ten years before the advent of political independence in the year 1937 itself, Gandhiji conceived a new scheme of education, a new concept of education.

called *Nai Talim*. Dr. Zakir Husain and Acharya Vinoba Bhave and others helped in giving a concrete shape to the *Nai Talim*. When we commemorate the 125th Birth Centenary, this year, of the Mahatma,—I understand a high-powered committee has been constituted with the Prime Minister as the Chairman—the programmes should not be merely commemorative but should be substantive. Also, programmes like the *Khadi* and *Village Industries* should be given a new flip. Another high-powered committee with the Prime Minister as its Chairman is working on this and we are eagerly waiting for its recommendations and proposals and they should get reflected in the revised Budget for the year, 1994-95.

Madam, in conclusion, my I quote what our revered *Rashtrapati* said when he inaugurated the Education Summit on "Education for All", only recently in Delhi. He said: "In my considered view, the mission for "Education for All" seeks to accelerate the emergence of a higher level of civilization in this planet—A civilization that cherishes and energies the past elements of traditional culture, draws upon the whole some potential of science and technology and fosters the spirit of humanism, peace and friendship between man and man and nation and nation around the world."

Madam, India will come to her own with this new mission of education and peace on which there is great consensus and unanimity in the House. Since time immemorial, India has valued learning and teaching. "Acharya Devo Bhava" is something that emanated from this country and Vinobaji went further and said, "Shishya Devo Bhava" The quest for truth has been the central endeavour of the Indian civilisation. The soul of India will shine again and her light will spread around the world through her

new mission of education and peace.

I think it is our good fortune that at this historic juncture, we have, at the helm of affairs, a scholar and philosopher, our Prime Minister Shri P. V. Narasimha Rao.

With these words, I welcome and support the Budget for 1994-95. May I thank you, Madam, or giving me this opportunity to speak to the House.

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Mr. Jaipal Reddy. Are you the only speaker from your party or is there anybody else?

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY (Andhra Pradesh): Kamlaji is there.

Madam, with the presentation of the Fourth Budget by Dr. Manmohan Singh, the Indian economy has turned a full circle. We are back to square one. Dr. Manmohan Singh has not only lost his *Midas* touch, but he is finding himself at his tether's end. This Budget was a sore disappointment for the supporters of the New Economic Policy while being a sad confirmation of the worst apprehensions of the critics of the New Economic Policy. In other words, the candle of Dr. Singh's constituency has begun to be burnt from both the ends. The "Economist" of London, which has been a great admirer of Shri Manmohan Singh, referring to the Budget said: "India goes for broke." The Indian industrialists, while cautiously welcoming the Budget, have expressed many deep fears about the deindustrialisation that this Budget will further spur. The most ardent admirers of Shri Manmohan Singh have been the stock brokers. Even they have been disappointed. It has spelt gloom even for the stock market. It has exposed not only the bankruptcy of the Government of India's economic position, but also the intellectual insolvency of the liberalisation policy,

which has been dictated to us by the IMF and the World Bank. It has provided a dramatic demonstration of the criticism we have been offering of the new economic policy in the last three years. It is not only dramatic, but it has also proved to be traumatic for the poor people of India. What was the supreme objective of the new economic policy which was launched in mid-1991? That was macro-economic stabilisation through reduction in fiscal deficit. It was in regard to this objective that all the steps which were taken were justified. Where do we find ourselves? Our failure on this very, very important count has not only been colossal but also criminal. Madam, the targetted fiscal deficit was 4.7 per cent in 1993-94. In fact, it was 4 per cent. It was later revised upwards and raised to 4.7 per cent. None of the critics of Shri Manmohan Singh ever anticipated that this deficit would rise to 7.3 per cent. What are the reasons? The real mischief does not lie in fiscal deficit. The mischief lies in revenue deficit. The revenue deficit in 1990-91 was 2.7 per cent of our GDP. What is the revenue deficit this year in 1993-94? (Interruptions) I am talking of revenue deficit. It was 2.7 per cent in 1990-91. This year it has risen to 4.7 per cent. I should congratulate Shri Manmohan Singh on this monumental achievement because no other Finance Minister in the history of India could really perform this miracle. Revenue deficit in 1990-91 was Rs. 18,562 crores. What is the figure this year? Rs. 34,058 crores! Madam, the interest payments before Mr. Singh took over, were globbing up 39 per cent of our total revenue. After three years of fiscal stabilisation interest payments are gobbling up 53 per cent of our total revenue. If we look at the Budget papers, it would be evident that the proposed borrowing, from both Indian and foreign sources would be of the order of Rs. 47,850 crores. This amount will only suffice

to pay interest on the past debt. That means, we have reached a stage, which we had never reached before, when we are borrowing only to pay interest on past debt. Was the situation so bad in 1990-91? Was the situation ever so bad in the history of free India? What caused this kind of a situation? Obviously, the soaring revenue expenditure. If the fiscal deficit was caused by increased outlays in capital expenditure, that would have had some redeeming features. There would have been some silver lining in the dark cloud of galloping fiscal deficit. But that is not the case. There has, in fact, been a decline in the capital expenditure. The provision for capital expenditure in the Central Plan and Central assistance for State Plans came down by 6 per cent in nominal terms; not to speak of real terms. In other words, the reduction in the Central Plan outlay and assistance came down by 15 per cent in substantive terms. It was very interesting to hear the explanation from Mr. Singh on Doordarshan, soon after he presented his Budget. He said, "Don't bother about fiscal deficit. After all, in India there is a lot of black income." If you take black income into consideration, the percentage of fiscal deficit would come down. What a wonderful piece of sophistry... (Interruptions)...

**SHRI S. K. T. RAMACHANDRAN (Tamil Nadu):** Madam, we know about black money and black market but we have never heard of black income.

**SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY:** Madam, I cannot treat Parliament as a class. Therefore, I refuse to be drawn into a debate with my friend.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** If there are no interruptions, I think, we can then have the business in a more orderly manner.

**SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY:** This proposition, strange and perverse as it is, could be valid in 1991-92 as well? Why did he come forward with this formulation only now?

Another explanation was that, after all, fiscal deficit is not to be bothered about, for it could stimulate demand in the market.

Apparently, he has made a somersault from being neo-classist to being a neo-Keynesian. It will have some substance if the expenditure, as I said earlier, was incurred in capital expenditure, in Plan outlays, in creation of assets, in increasing infrastructural strength of our economy, in removing the supply bottle-necks, in improving the supply responses. No. All this money was spent away on wasteful things. In this background of frightening fiscal deficit, Dr. Manmohan Singh was so generous as to give away Rs. 2,300 crores in customs duties. Why? Because Dr. Singh can disobey, ignore, disregard the aspirations of the people of India, the protests of the Opposition, but cannot afford to ignore the directive of the International Monetary Fund. The International Monetary Fund has, no doubt, advised the Government to reduce the fiscal deficit. But it was more interested in getting India's borders opened up for the goods of multinationals. Therefore, the IMF does not lose sleep if your deficit goes up. But it would find fault with you in case you did not reduce the height of your tariff wall. It is a very strange approach.

Everybody talks of the examples of Asian tigers like Singapore, Hongkong, South Korea, even Thailand and Indonesia. I don't consider them to be proper examples. Even if they are considered to be proper examples, are you following their example?

What was done in those countries? External liberalisation, what is also known as globalisation, followed internal deregulation, followed State protection and State intervention. External liberalisation came last after the internal strength of the economy was built up. But what are you doing? You are going in a reverse direction. You are opening up the economy without strengthening the Indian economy. Therefore, my genuine fear is that our economy will fall between two stools. We will have the worst of both worlds.

Now, let us take stock of the economy as it obtains today in India. The economy in our country today is causing concern because the growth is sluggish. What is the growth rate? 3.8 per cent. That again is because of the contribution from agriculture. Fortunately, for you for the past four or five years the rain-god has been merciful to all of us. I don't really believe in God. But I do pray to rain-god because our entire economy still depends on rain-god.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** You are praying for rain-god because you prefer rain.

**SHRI S. R. BOMMAI (Orissa):** You are thankful to the monsoon, not to Dr. Manmohan Singh.

**SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY:** I am appalled to find that Dr. Manmohan Singh takes credit even for the good monsoon. The industrial growth this year has been only 1.2 per cent. The capital goods manufacturing has experienced a negative growth of eight per cent that is minus eight per cent. Is that what you are proud of? We were told in 1991 that the structural adjustment policy would take three years to deliver goods. Now, three years have passed. We now know the goods that this policy has delivered. The Government takes a lot of credit for the foreign

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exchange reserves. But what do they consist of? Is our foreign exchange position very comfortable? If that was so, how is it that India's rating in the market of international credit has not been revised upward by Moodys? How is it that our rating remains at the same place as it was four years back? These reserves, Madam, I would like to submit, are fragile. You cannot really depend on them. Madam, 1.3 billion dollars came into the equity market. 2.5 billion dollars came through Euro-issues and the remaining money was purchased by the Reserve Bank of India.

Now, the Government talks of export performance. It is true that our exports grew up by 21 per cent. But how did it happen? You will be able to bamboozle the people with this kind of statistics. Our base last year was so low that our performance on export-front had to be as high as it turned out. The question is: Will we be able to repeat this next year? Is this growth sustainable? And this performance was also on account of the partial opening of the Russian market in dollar terms which was not available to you last year. Madam, quite apart from the bad situation we are finding ourselves in, we may also be in for nasty surprises in the next fiscal year. I don't like to sound cynical. The statistical possibility next year is a bad monsoon. If you consult any meteorologist, you will be told so. I wish this sign goes wrong. Secondly, the oil prices in the world market can go up. This year we could manage because the oil

prices were at a historic low. The kind of hot money in foreign exchange reserves which we gathered could also be withdrawn. These are the dangers that our country must guard itself against. Apart from spelling gloom for the stock market, the Budget, I find, has spelt doom for the small sector. Of Rs. 106 additional excise levy sought to be raised. Rs. 100 crores are to come from the small sector. Why do you declare this kind of war against the small scale-sector which has made such a great contribution to India's exports? The steel sector is facing sickness. You have allowed steel to be imported. You have also reduced the Customs duty on steel. I do not know why such a policy has been initiated. I do not see any method in this madness. Take for example, the agro-paper units. They account for 30 per cent of paper production in the country. On account of changes in excise duty they face the prospect of closure. You have simplified the tariff structure. I welcome that because the tariff structure has long been in need of simplification. But should the consequential burden be necessarily passed on to the small-scale sector? Should you not take care of the small-sector before going for simplification in the tariff structure? Now the relatively well-to-do sections have been given concessions in the sphere of direct taxes. I do not know why any concessions should be given at all, either in the area of customs duty or direct taxes when your fiscal deficit is galloping. You gave away Rs. 2500 crores in direct taxes. In other words, you have provided relief to the relatively well-to-do sections. I am not opposed to reduction in direct taxes altogether. But this was not the time: A wise industrialist would not bother about reduction or non-reduction in direct taxes. He would welcome measures to support his industry. What is the point in weakening his industry while reducing his income tax burden? Where

Does he end up? When he is going broke, at any rate, he will have to pay less tax. Look at the treatment you have meted out to the poor man. You have levied on him Rs. 4,000 crores through price hikes before you presented the Budget. The Railway Minister has imposed a burden of Rs. 1,000 crores. You have cut the subsidy on food to the tune of Rs. 1,200 crores. All this means that you have directly or indirectly imposed a burden of Rs. 6,200 crores on the poorer sections, while you gave away more than Rs. 4,000 crores in the area of taxes which concern the richer sections and foreign companies. To control the fiscal deficit, the first thing you did was to withdraw subsidy on fertilizers. The farmers were hit. When the farmers protested, you increased the procurement prices. That led to rise in the price of food articles; that led to rise in the issue price of food articles; that got reflected in the wholesale price index, not to speak of the consumer price index. The price of food articles has gone up by 14 per cent. You may tell us that our inflation rate right now is only between 8 and 9 per cent.

But it is the food articles 1,000 M, which constitute a large part of our wholesale prices index, and the prices articles have gone up by 14 per cent in this fiscal year only. Now, as regards infrastructure, you have done nothing to remove the bottlenecks in the infrastructural sector. You have left it to the multinationals. I am not, in principle, opposed to investment by multinationals in, say, power sector. But what are the conditions under which this investment is provided? You have, by implication, agreed to ensure 16 per cent return for their equity participation in addition to other incentives. Is this the way you would like to have the infrastructure in the country improved? So far as the social sector is concerned, it has been served for the last four years: not only has there been no increase in real terms but there has also not

been any increase even in nominal terms. Only this year some increase has been made, that too, only for rural development. In my view, it is nothing more than an exercise in tokenism. I am surprised to find that the import duty on power equipment would be zero; there will be no Customs duty whatsoever, on power equipments. If this is the policy, what would happen to the BHEL of which the whole nation has been consistently and legitimately proud? The BHEL did successfully compete with multinationals in the Middle-East and execute projects on turn-key basis, within the time schedule and without cost overruns. Do you want to kill such an organisation as the BHEL? And what is your policy in regard to PSUs. The Finance Minister said that he could not, for a variety of reasons, disinvest the shares of PSUs. I can understand privatisation though I do not support it. But I have never been able to understand this method of disinvestment. You are being intellectually and politically dishonest. If you have the courage, then say from the housetop that you want to privatise. You are not saying that for two reasons. Firstly, it does not suit you politically. So, you want to take recourse to backdoor privatisation. Secondly, you don't want to declare it in so many words because there is nobody in this country—my friend, Mr. Kamal Morarka and Mr. Krishna Kumar Birla would bear me out—who can buy our public sector undertakings. The market worth of BHEL is anywhere upwards of Rs. 20,000 crore. Show me a group of companies, if not a single company, which can buy any of such public sector companies...  
(Interruptions)

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: The market value of the assets of the public sector undertakings is more than Rs. 10,00,000 crores.

SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY: I agree with Jageshbhai. Therefore, you don't want to say that you are privatising. If you really believe in privatisation,

[Shri S. Jai Pal Reddy]

you will get more money. Quite apart from disinvestment or privatisation, what do you want to do with them? I can understand your decision to sell them. Margaret Thatcher, before she went in for privatisation, adopted certain methods. You did not do any such thing which, therefore, led to a scandal. The other day, Dr. Manmohan Singh said that his entire Finance Ministry in this year was busy answering the queries from JPC and therefore; the Finance Ministry did not find time to disinvest the shares of PSUs. Could there be a more ridiculous, outrageous explanation? The point, I am trying to make is, whatever you may do with these PSUs, are you going to let them survive? You are not selling them. In the meantime, you are deliberately starving them. They are on the point of being killed. The orders for all major public sector undertakings have been declining progressively in the last three years. At this rate, they will not be alive to find a purchaser for them. I charge you with the policy of killing the PSUs which have been built in the last four decades with the blood, toil, and tears of the people of India.

**SHRI N. E. BALARAM:** Yes.

**SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY:** Don't you feel any emotional attachment to them? I am not talking of the sick units. Well, of course, it will be very wrong on my part to expect any emotion either from the Prime Minister or from Dr. Manmohan Singh. They are really emotion-proof. The essence of this entire approach appears to be only to appease and propitiate the gods of IMF and the World Bank sitting in Washington and do nothing about the Indian industry. I have never been a great admirer of the Indian industrialists. Let me refer to Mr. Palikhivala, who has been the high priest of liberalisation in the country long before you thought of it. The other day he was also bemoaning that the Indian

companies would not long remain Indian at all and they will be taken over. But my appeal to Mr. Palikhivala and friends of his like is that he should not be merely bothered about their private companies, he should also be equally bothered about our public sector undertakings which are as Indian as the private sector companies. I am not saying that you should discriminate in favour of the PSUs. Once Asoka Mehtaji said in one context, "to provide only protection to PSUs would not be correct." He said, "sheltered development," would lead to stunted development." Therefore, I am not for protecting the PSUs from competition. But you provide support to the PSUs. Our blood boils at the way you are trying to kill them by being neglect and deliberate neglect.

Madam, what is the outlook for the next fiscal year? Do I see any growth? The Finance Minister claimed that the Budget would speed up industrial recovery, the Budget would strengthen the capital goods manufacturing sector. When you have reduced the customs duties in this steep manner, how can this sector grow? I am not opposed to global competition as well. But there must be a transitional period. Are you able to provide the transitional period? Liberalisation, as is understood all over the world, is a multi-dimensional affair. This Government appears to think that liberalisation means only one thing, that is globalisation, and nothing else at all. So, there is not going to be any growth whatsoever. In my view, we are in for further, deeper stagnation. Apart from stagnation, look at the rising prices. Effectively, they are already 10 per cent and more. Statistically you may say it is hovering between 8 and 9 per cent. Between 1950 and 1980, our growth rate was 3.5 per cent. So, the late Mr. Raj Krishna said, our 3.5 per cent really was Hindu growth rate. He put it in a good humour fashion.

But it was during the 'eighties that we crossed this sonic barrier. Our growth rate in the whole of 'eighties was 5.6 per cent. And following your liberalisation, we are well below 3.0 per cent. So, the prospect of stagnation is staring in our face, and I have said already that inflation will, once again, get into a double digit circle. I do not want to take recourse to that much abused phrase, though little understood and less practised. But, I have no option. This Budget is, in fact, a prescription for stagnation.

Madam, Dr. Manmohan Singh has had a honeymoon with this country. But he should know that this honeymoon has ended. Like all honeymoons, it also ends. But honeymoon is often followed...

**SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM** (Andhra Pradesh): You can have extended honeymoon.

**SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY:** The honeymoon is often followed by extended happy conjugal life. I am using these words metaphorically. This honeymoon is being followed by, what I might say, symptoms of divorce.

**SHRI SATYA PRAKASH MALAVIYA** (Uttar Pradesh): Prior to judicial separation!

**SHRI S. JAIPAL REDDY:** It is heading towards a divorce. Of late our Prime Minister has been pretending to be a political philosopher. Both at Davos and at London, he has been speaking of a middle path. I was wondering as to why Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao who has never been known to think on his own has suddenly hit upon a new line of thought. He knows that he cannot impose any kind of fiscal discipline in the country. Middle path is nothing but a euphemism for covering up uncontrolled and growing fiscal deficit and revenue expenditure. I wish he were to show courage in sticking to the middle path in regard to external

liberalisation. If he has real faith in the middle path, he should not have allowed the customs duties to be reduced in the manner they were. Since Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao is speaking of the middle path, I would call upon the Finance Minister to avoid cuts in custom duties. That is the middle path. Middle path is not mixture of internal profligacy, and external liberalisation.

With these few words I would request the Finance Minister not to play a costly and a colossal hoax on this nation. He should take the Indian economy more seriously. He should bother himself more about the people of Indian and the economy of India. Let him not listen to the advice of others. I know Dr. Manmohan Singh is a competent economist. In our country policy changes, but the policy-makers do not change. Dr. Manmohan Singh tried to create an illusion that he was the saviour who descended on this nation in 1991 from the blue. Our memory is not so short. Has he not been serving the nation in one capacity or the other for the last 20 years? So, only policy changes, policy-makers do not change. If this policy has now ended up in a gross failure, in a gargantuan monstrous failure, it is because only policy changed, policy-makers did not. May I also add, Madam, in our country Governments change but the character of the State does not change? The character of the State has always been soft. When you embark upon structural adjustment policy, what you need is a hard State and if you adopt soft policies, it will mean hard landing and crash landing for the nation.

**THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN:** Before I call upon Mr. Krishna Kumar Birla to speak, I will take the sense of the House. We have still to have a 10-hour discussion on the Budget. If we dispense with the lunch hour and continue...

श्री सत्य प्रकाश मालवीय : लंच तो होना चाहिए। स्पेशल मेशन शाम को होगा।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Yesterday we had the lunch hour, Malaviyaji.

फिर समय तो कम रहेगा। इसलए लंच आवर अगर नहीं हो तो बेटर रहेगा डिस्कशन।

THE DEPUTY CHAIRMAN: Otherwise, what happens, those Members whose names are listed from the major parties get the best time, but the Members who are coming under 'Independents and Others' get the worst time.

Let us at least give them better time. So, we won't have the lunch hour. We won't adjourn for lunch. Thank you very much for your cooperation.

Yes, Shri Birlaji.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA (Rajasthan): Madam, I rise in support of the Bill. The present Government has been in power for less than 3 years. At that time the economy of the country was in a critical state, arising out of certain exterior problems, structural problems and certain constraints. Foreign exchange reserves as on 30th June, 1991, had touched an all-time low in recent years—\$ one billion and the country was on the verge of default.

Sweeping reforms were introduced by the Government under the Prime Ministership of Shri Narasimha Rao and the economy was liberalised. As a result, the country is out of crisis. Our present foreign exchange reserve is \$ 14 billion exports have risen by 21 per cent in dollar terms in the first 10 months of the year 1993-94, foodgrains stock is 23 million tonnes, exchange value of rupee is fairly steady. India, in my opinion, had never done so well in recent times

far as economic field is concerned. Expectations for the future are still better. It is hoped and expected that India will have a golden period in times to come. I am rather optimistic. India has achieved a lot. Yet a lot more has got to be achieved.

The new proposal of the Finance Minister of prepaying \$1.4 billion to the IMF is said to have created tremendous confidence in the minds of the IMF and other world bodies. India, in short, has been able to generate immense confidence in the international community. Madam, with these preliminary remarks I offer a few suggestions.

Firstly, take the total non-Plan expenditure for 1994-95. The total is about Rs. 1,05,117 crores. The interest payment liability in this comes to Rs. 46,000 crores, which is a large chunk. It is, perhaps, the largest chunk. It has been said that this is a legacy of the past. The question is, what do we do for the future? The interest burden could be reduced by reduction in Government borrowings, and the need for borrowing will end only when two objectives are achieved. Firstly, the revenue deficit should be reduced. Our aim should, in fact, be to completely wipe out the revenue deficit. Secondly, the performance of the public sector units should improve. There are 237 Central public sector units in the country. The investment in them is Rs. 1,46,000 crores, and the net profit is only 2.4 per cent. This is a matter of deep concern.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI (Maharashtra): This one lakh-odd crores both loans and equity.

SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA: But these are the figures published by the Government themselves.

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: The figures are correct but what about equity and loans?... (Interruptions)... About

Rs. 8,000 crores of interest is paid by the public sector to the Government. You should take that also into account and six per cent on the equity.

The Vice-Chairman (Shri V. Narayanasamy) in the Chair.

**SHRI KRISHNA KUMAR BIRLA:** These are figures which are published by the Government publications. I am only quoting the Government publications without either disagreeing with them or disputing them in any way.

In 1993-94, the fiscal deficit in the revised budget has increased from 4.70 per cent, as planned in the budget, to 7.30 per cent of the GDP, and the overall deficit has increased from Rs. 4,314 crores to Rs. 9,000 crores. The question is, what is the inference that we can draw from that? I would propose that a proper check be kept over its expenditure, if a proper check is not exercised over expenditure, there is a grave danger that the deficit of Rs. 6,000 crores which has been planned for the year 1994-95 may, unfortunately, increase further. I would therefore urge the Finance Minister that he should keep a very tight check over expenditure.

Madam, the Finance Minister announced regarding rupee convertibility in the current account. Now, this was a very laudable statement. After a few days, the guidelines of the Reserve Bank of India were published. The inference of the guidelines is that the amount of allowances has been increased. To give you an instance, take the travel quota. Formerly the amount was \$ 500 dollars. Now it has risen to \$ 2,000. Still there are restrictions. Under these circumstances, it is not correct to say that there is full convertibility. So far as current account is concerned. In my opinion, there is no current account convertibility in full, I hope that convertibility of current account in the real sense of the

term will be achieved before long. I also hope that as the foreign exchange reserves increase and convertibility in capital account will also be introduced. This will add to India's prestige and India's influence.

Sir, I am very happy to state that India enjoys a top position and is the first choice as far as foreign investors are concerned. This is owing to many reasons. First, India is a democratic country. Second, we have got an expanding consumer market mainly owing to the prosperous middle class, which accounts for 20 per cent of the total population of the country. Third, the country has got a very well developed legal system where justice for all is assured.

The fact that India enjoys the top position is a very welcome sign, but side by side I would like to plead that we have got to be a bit cautious. I would explain the reasons. Foreign institutions are gigantic in size. How huge they are can be seen from the following example. Take the case of Bombay Stock Exchange, to which a reference was made by Mr. Palkhivala. It has a total market capitalisation of all quoted shares to the tune of about \$115 billion to \$120 billion, whereas a large number of foreign financial institutions have not worth of over \$100 billion. The foreign financial institution who invest in our equity shares do not have philanthropic attitude towards the country. They have no love for our country. The people controlling the financial institutions are sound businessmen and their aim is to make profit. So, if at any time a corporate raider approaches them with an attractive offer, they will have no difficulty, their conscience will not prick them, to sell off their entire shares. So, my point is that if the foreign corporate leaders take over these shares, the Indian business houses cannot do anything; these cannot purchase them back. The point that I am trying to make out is that at present the Government of India has put a ceiling of 24 per cent on F 11 purchases. Keeping in view the dangers involved in cornering the minor

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Indian partners and take over complete control, this ceiling may be reduced to 10 per cent. That is the feeling of the businessmen. I would like to give an example in this regard. In South Korea and Taiwan, which are industrially very advanced, they too have laid down that the aggregate holdings of the foreign financial institutions will not be more than 10 per cent as far as the secondary market is concerned. As far as the primary market is concerned, if a foreign entrepreneur wants to start a company, he has the freedom to do so. I am very happy to say that my friend, Mr. Jagesh Desai, who himself is a good economist will support this.

Sir, another suggestion which I want to make is to float non-voting equity shares. Now the result of that would be that the foreign financial institutions who are genuine investors would immediately take a look at the non-voting equity shares provided they carry a higher dividend. The businessmen of the country are prepared to do that. These non-voting equity shares can be sold to the foreign financial institutions. In case that is done, corporate raiders coming to India would be very much reduced.

There is some confusion regarding interest rates. The Finance Minister had announced in his Budget speech, reduction of 1 per cent on interest rates on term loans by the Indian financial institutions. But he was silent on reduction of interest rates on the working capital requirements of the company. The interest rate on term loans is 16 per cent which, in my opinion, is very high. The interest rates in Western countries including Japan is 6 per cent. How can then the capital goods industry of this country compete with the foreign suppliers? I will give you a concrete instance. As you are aware, our Government wants to modernise the textile mills owned by the NTC. If they are not modernised, then, they would have to be down closed. Now, the point is where the money is going to come from for this modernisation. I do

go to the Finance Minister with the plea to release some money. I know his difficulties also. The Government of India cannot release any money. A suggestion was given to the NTC mills that they should invite global tenders for modernisation. They have invited global tenders and opened them. I am happy to say that quotations of the indigenous manufacturers on an average are 30 per cent cheaper. But the NTC mills require deferred payment and that is where the catch lies. The foreign bidders can arrange for 8 to 10 years credit. With some problem or with some difficulty, probably with the help of the Finance Minister, the Indian bidders may also not be able to arrange it. They may arrange it for 5 to 7 years, but in case, we all went and pleaded with the Finance Minister to help the Indian manufacturers I am sure that he will arrange for extended credit terms.

Apart from this, the rate of interest which they are offering for 8 to 10 years is 6 per cent. Again our rate of interest is 16 per cent. This means every year, the indigenous manufacturer is at a disadvantage of 10 per cent rate of interest compared to a foreign manufacturer. The ultimate analysis is that even though the indigenous machines are cheaper, taking the rate of interest into account. They become dearer. Ultimately, it will be found that the indigenous machines are costly. In case the indigenous manufacturers stand to lose, they stand to suffer, if they stand to lose or suffer, it will not be due to their fault. If the Indian financial institutions are offering them loan at a higher rate of interest, it will be to the disadvantage of Indian supplies. That also result from the Govt.'s liberalisation policy. I am always for liberalisation. But liberalisation doesn't mean that indigenous suppliers should suffer and they should close down their units on account of unfair foreign competition. I am going to meet the Finance Minister separately to explain to him about this matter in greater details.

Sir, the Opposition charged that the Budget was anti-people. I am sure when the Finance Minister gives his reply he

would be able to state the position lucidly. I will give you only two instance to show that it is not anti-people. Firstly, there are several proposals in the Budget to improve the economy of the rural areas where 75 per cent of India reside. I will give only two instances. Take the case of NABARD. This is the apex agency for rural credit. Its capital is being increased by Rs. 200 crores this year; Rs. 100 crores by the Government of India and Rs. 100 crores by the Reserve Bank of India. Secondly, the Finance Minister has announced that the restriction on domestic movement of foodgrains and agricultural goods will be completely removed. I am sure our farmers will be greatly benefited by this. These are welcome steps.

I wanted to say something regarding dumping. But, Mr. Vice-Chairman, as you have rung the bell, I skip that point. Now, specific rates of excise duty are being replaced by ad valorem duty. In my opinion, this has not been a step in the right direction. Assessing the correct value is a very complicated matter. This issue of value determination, in fact, has been lying before the Supreme Court for quite some time. The Supreme Court has not yet given its judgment as to how the value is really to be determined. It is a very complicated matter because value is a matter of subjective interpretation. In case ad valorem duties are really enforced, it would lead to a lot of friction between manufacturers and excise authorities. In my opinion, the Government of India should reconsider this matter. The second point is, the change from specific duties to ad valorem duties, it is going to affect a large number of industries very badly. I would cite the example of the blended yarn industry, particularly those manufacturing finer counts, cotton yarn, jute products, small-scale sector people, polypropylene industry, etc. These industries are going to make representations to the Government of India and I hope that they will consider them sympathetically. In case of any hardship, I hope the Finance Minister will take corrective measures to see that the unintentional hardship is redressed.

Sir, the total plan Expenditure, both in revenue and capital, was Rs. 46,028 crores in 1993-94 and for 1994-95, the amount is Rs. 46,528 crores. This means that there will be only a marginal increase of one per cent as far as the total Plan Expenditure is concerned. If you take the inflation into account, in fact, there is a reduction into account, in fact, there is a reduction of eight per cent. This will seriously affect the cement and the steel industries which depend on Government support.

The Unit Trust, in my opinion, is a bulky organisation and I would plead that it requires to be broken into three or four corporations like the GIC. It will add to the efficiency of this organisation. Then, I would like to make a point about the ICICI. I do not know how many Members are aware of the fact that the ICICI which is at present one of the top-most financial institutions in the country was started by some businessmen of this country. My father was one of them. What happened later was, when the insurance trade was nationalised, the holding of the private-sector in ICICI which was held for the insurance companies came down and the Government got the majority of the shares of ICICI. Now that the policy of liberalisation of the adopted, I would plead that these shares are sold to public and ICICI got be privatised. Sir, I have been a votary of the investment allowance. This benefits both modernisation and pace of industrialisation. In my opinion, the endeavour of the Government should be to make Indian companies cash-rich. In case the MNCs are there in other parts of the world, why can't Indian corporations also become the MNCs? This is my feeling.

Regarding the Wealth Tax and the Gift Tax, I would say that it is better to abolish both these taxes. The revenue from the Wealth Tax is Rs. 125 crores and from the Gift Tax is Rs. 5 crores. The amounts are small but they cause a lot of problems and harassment to the assesseees. That apart, as far as the Wealth Tax on companies is concerned,

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this is levied on a number of items. In my opinion, it is neither sound nor proper. Mostly, such a tax is on what is called surplus land. Now, the factories and the companies seek surplus land for expansion purposes and the wise entrepreneur will always provide for an adequate land for the growth of the company. By taxing the companies by way of Wealth Tax, the Finance Minister is, in fact, levying tax on the foresight of the entrepreneurs.

Sir, as I stated earlier, the economy has done well. But I would like to sound a note of caution. The note of caution is for this reason that the import of oil is bound to increase in the years to come. So, strenuous efforts should be made to see that oil production and gas production both rise. In fact, the matter of concern is that oil production has come down from 34 million tonnes to 27 million tonnes.

Something has been said about inflation. It was 17 per cent in August 1991. Now, it is eight per cent. In my opinion, it is still high and efforts should be made by the Finance Minister to reduce it. I think the Finance Minister said something like that in his speech also.

I hope the points made by me will receive the attention of the Finance Minister.

All steps in the Budget are aimed at providing major stimulus to industrial recovery, to improve economy, to give encouragement to investment and capital goods production. Sir, with these words, I conclude by saying that I am all praise for the Finance Minister for a good Budget that he has presented.

**SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI** (Tamil Nadu): Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for having given me this opportunity to say something on the Budget. Sir, whenever the Budget is presented, the nation expects that the Government will go further in the direction of developing the economy and in

providing social justice. Economic growth with social justice should be the basic objective. In 1989-90, when Shri Chavan Ji was the Finance Minister, while presenting the Budget, he made the following statement. "The basic approach is the growth, modernisation, self-reliance and social justice. "So, the growth, modernisation, self-reliance and social justice this is the basic approach of the Congress party. We have to find out the ways and means to achieve self-reliance as well as the social justice. The strategy was followed by Shri N. D. Tiwari, when he was the Finance Minister. While presenting the Budget in the year 1988-89, he said: "Is it for the first time that the deficit financing has been introduced in India? I am myself opposed to the unmanageable deficit financing."

"I very sincerely say that I am oppose to deficit financing, when it is beyond limit. But what does history say? My good friend, Mr. Guruswamy, very appropriately mentioned that we have been taught lessons of Gandhian socialism or democratic socialism by Mahatma Gandhi Jawaharlal Nehru, Acharya Sarendra Dev, Dr. Lohia, Acharya Kriplani Dr. Patil, Sitaramayya and veterans of that kind. Together we have learnt. Of course, I agree that Gladstone had a definition at that point of time. But we cannot have a Gladstonian budget as of now. We cannot have an Emersonian budget. We can have Narendra Deva budget or a Jawaharlal Nehru budget."

That is what Shri N. D. Tiwari had said some years back. We are following the same path. Instead of following others, there should have been some introspection.

Sir, after the Budget was submitted, our Finance Minister while giving his opinion at the Forum of Financial Writers said, "The overproduction of domestic industry through high tariffs in the past had actually harmed the poor and rural population as lack of competition led to sluggish industrial growth and a shift to capital-intensive technologies. A spurt in

industrial activity in a competitive environment would be more beneficial for the poor." That is, he wanted to justify giving importance to industrial development. As far as the personal integrity of the Finance Minister is concerned, nobody suspects that. After this Budget was presented, who have applauded it? Who have praised it immediately? The World Bank, the International Monetary Fund. I would like to quote here a few lines which appeared in an article in *The Hindustan Times*, dated 2nd March, 1994:—

"World Bank analysts will, as usual, study the Budget proposals and their implications for India's economy in general and their impact on ongoing Bank projects in particular. But such studies are for internal use and, as a rule, will not be released.

The International Monetary Fund, too, does not usually comment on the budgetary exercises of member nations, partly out of the apprehension of being accused of interference. But IMF Managing Director Michael Camdessus has on several occasions over the past two years publicly expressed his happiness at India's reform and structural adjustment measures.

Although unwilling to comment publicly and specifically, a senior IMF official made on secret of the fact that he was quite happy with India's new Budget."

who is happy? Who is more happy? The IMF official! So far, we have accused the Treasury Benches of it. But this statement substantiated the fact.

After these Budget proposals were announced, we came to know some facts. What are those facts? We came to know the facts regarding the interest payment. Sir, in the coming year we have to pay Rs. 46,000 crores as interest payment. As far as the deficit is concerned, it is a very peculiar Budget. Fiscal deficit was to be brought down to 4.7 per cent of the GDP but it has shot up to 7.3

per cent. Revenue deficit rose from Rs. 17,000 crores to Rs. 34,000 crores. In the current year it has doubled. Budget deficit has doubled. It has risen from Rs. 4,300 crores to Rs. 9,060 crores. Sir, now it is estimated that in the coming year there will be a Budget deficit of only Rs. 6000 crores. Fiscal deficit has gone up by 7.3 per cent of the GDP. That has, more or less, doubled. Fiscal deficit has doubled, revenue deficit has doubled, Budget deficit has doubled! Sir, the current year's revised estimates have shown a deficit of Rs. 9000 crores in the last year. How has the Government come to the conclusion that in the coming year the Budget deficit will be only Rs. 6,000 crores? For example, see the Budget of 1992-93. According to the Budget estimates, the deficit was Rs. 5,400 crores but according to the revised estimates, it was Rs. 7,200 crores. There will always be only a very small difference between the estimates and the actuals. What are those actuals? The revised estimate was Rs. 7,200 crores but the actual figures was Rs. 12,300 crores. It is for the year 1992-93. From this what I fear is that, though it is shown in the current year's Budget as Rs. 6,000 crores, it may go beyond Rs. 15,000 crores. There is a fiscal deficit of more than Rs. 21,000 crores. It is nothing but a criminal violation of the fiscal discipline. It is what I accuse the Treasury Benches of. The foreign reserves which we have consist mostly of hot money. The bank scam and the fall-out of the bank scam have not at all been mentioned in the Budget. What is the fall-out of the policies pursued for the last two years? For example, I will tell you, in 1990-91 our export was to the tune of Rs. 33,153 crores. In U.S. dollars it comes to 18,477 million dollars. In 1992-93 our export was to the tune of Rs. 54,418 crores. In U.S. dollars it comes to Rs. 18,789. That means for Rs. 33,000 crores we were

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able to get 18,477 million dollars and for Rs. 54,000 crores also we were able to get only 18,789 million dollars. We got only 300 million dollars more. Why was it so when our export was more than Rs. 54,000 crores? You can find out from this how the money has been devalued. If you want to find out in an easy way as to how the devaluation has taken place you can find it out. I can cite another example. You can find out the devaluation from the one rupee coin which we minted for the last time. You will find that the one rupee coin is more or less like a fifty paise coin of the last time. We are unable to differentiate between the coins in the pocket. It is very difficult to find out whether it is a fifty paise coin or a one rupee coin. Everybody in this august House knows that the intrinsic value of the coin should not be more than the value determined by the Government. The coin is reduced in size as well as in weight. They reduced it again and again. It clearly shows how much inflation has taken place. It is the easy way to understand how the inflation has taken place in India. We must find out where we are doing. When we ask the Government where we are going, the Government says we are going in the proper way. What has the Minister said in the last Budget? I quote:

"The fiscal discipline is necessary because the Government has lived far too long beyond its means. The rising fiscal deficit of the Central Government is the root cause of our balance of payments problem, rise in prices, high rates of interest."

The first is balance of payment. The second is rise in prices. The third is high rates of interest. For all these things, what is the root cause? The root cause, as is invented by the hon. Minister, is the fiscal deficit. How far are you maintaining the last discip-

line? That is the question. If you are unable to maintain the fiscal discipline, it means that you are actually contributing to the interest rate, you are contributing to be balance of payment problem. That is what you are doing.

Regarding the public sector units, what the Government says is that efficiency is essential, environment is essential, competitiveness is essential. That is why they have decided to disinvest the public sector units. I want to quote from the reply of the late lamented Prime Minister, Shri Rajiv Gandhi, to the debate on the Budget for 1987-88. It is important because it will enlighten the hon. Members of the treasury Benches. He said:

"The public sector has also done well. Return from the public sector has increased from Rs. 7,600 crores to Rs. 9,000 crores. This is good. But our investment in the public sector during the last two years has been very high. We have almost got 50 per cent increase in the investment in public sector in these two years. We will require the public sector to function much more effectively if we have to get adequate returns on investment.

Now, this is very important:

"I would like at the same time to clarify that we must not and cannot look at the public sector solely in economic terms..."

This is what Mr. Rajiv Gandhi told us then:

"...because the tasks that we give the public sector are much broader than that. The public sector has a responsibility for social development, for opening up the backward areas. It has a responsibility for training and developing manpower."

"In certain areas, it has a responsibility of frontline research and development and conversion to production technology. Today, we are asking them to do all these things under difficult circumstances, we are asking them to give much better working conditions as are available in other areas. Therefore, we cannot expect them to give the same sort of return."

That is what he said. They say that they cannot expect the public sector companies or the public sector units to give the same sort of return. That is the argument put forth by the Treasury Benches now. It is being replaced by the views of the late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi. But still they say that they are working on the same path. It is not so.

Sir, what is the present situation in the country? What are the policies which are being pursued by the Government regarding power generation and hydro-electric generation? Sir, we are able to generate 84,000 MW. We are having 60 per cent of the work load. We are generating only 12,580 MW. Then in the process of the construction we can generate 8,865 MW further. The total would come to 23,445 MW. We can also generate 61,000 MW more. But we are going to give it to the private hands. It means 75 per cent of the generating capacity is going to be handed over to the private people. This is the policy which you are pursuing. You are giving encouragement to some other sectors also. You are giving thousands of crores of rupees to the National Renewal Fund. What for? The National Renewal Fund is nothing but it is sending employees from one workshop to another workshop. For that you are pumping the amount. Even in the Supplementary Demands last year you had increased it by Rs. 320 crores. Now also you are very particular about that. You are depositing

money in the National Renewal Fund only to see that the employees are sent out from one place to another. We asked, "What is this?" The Government replied, "There is no retrenchment." We are not asking about the retrenchment. What we say is that when we send people like this, automatically there would not be any further employment in the same sector. We could not get any reply from the Treasury Benches on this point.

I did raise the issue of privatisation of insurance business. When I asked about it the Finance Minister told me, "It is a hypothetical question. There is one Committee which has to submit its report. That only we can come to a conclusion." At that time I told that the World Bank had compelled the Government of India to see that insurance is open for the private sector. That is number one. Then you should not give any instruction and you should not dictate for the export obligation. That is number two. Thirdly, you should not try for the time-frame indigenisation. You have already given up the time-frame indigenisation programme and the export obligation when you announced the Industrial Policy in 1991. Now, you are going to hand over the insurance business to the private people. So, you are working under the dictates exerted by the World Bank.

As far as this Budget is concerned, there is nothing for the poor people. This Budget is for the rich people and the corporate sector. You have given all kinds of facilities to the rich people. You are not worried about the people who are below the poverty line. You are not thinking about these people.

You have already reduced subsidy to agriculture drastically. If you go through the position of agriculture subsidy for the last 10 years you will find how the subsidy to agriculture has been reduced in relation to the

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GDP. It has gone down from 2.4 per cent to one per cent. Still you want it to go down. You think that subsidy is nothing but come from one section of the society to another section of the society. What you have to do at least to prevent the migration from village to city, is that you must appoint a Committee to find out how much increase you can make for the agro-based industry. Unless and until you do this work, this country cannot progress.

Regarding Income Tax exemption 00 P.M. exemption to the salaried class,

I feel we are following an ad hoc method. Every time the salaried class has to find out what the hon. Finance Minister has announced. In Australia, they follow a different method. They have accepted some basic amount as pay. They take into account the inflation rate in a particular year and accordingly, the exemption limit is enhanced. I feel the same policy should be adopted even in India. We will not have to depend on the Finance Minister. People will be able to calculate on their own, depending on the rate of inflation. Regarding interest payment, last year our revenue receipt was to the tune of 41.5 per cent. In the coming years, this is expected to rise by 45 per cent. But all this goes towards payment of interest. You can find this out from the deficit. When you take the deficit into account, it comes to Rs 46 000 crores. What do you have to say? You talk about foreign exchange every day. I would like to know what happened between 1988 and 89. In 1988, the interest amount was only Rs. 7,400 crores. In 1989, it went up to Rs. 28,000 crores. It did not merely double, but it quadrupled. From Rs 7,400 crores it went as high as Rs. 28,000 crores. The economy was actually ruined. Who ruled the country all these years? Who administered this country all these years?

It was you. Therefore, you are responsible for it. The people suffered because of the mistakes committed by you. Regarding excise duty, I feel the Government must talk to the people who are affected by it. You have imposed some excise duty on the leather industry. Ultimately, who will suffer? Even in the case of container manufacturing industry, I feel the Government must talk to the people. The Government must talk to these people and come to some amicable solution. Our share in the world export market came down from 2.5 per cent to 0.4 per cent. In 1993, our exports had gone up by 3.1 per cent in dollar terms. But our imports have increased to 11.9 per cent. How are we going to fill this gap? It is very difficult. Regarding the capital adequacy norms imposed on the banking industry, I feel our banking industry will not be able to manage it. Supposing a man takes a loan of Rs. 1 crore and does not pay interest, in that case, this Rs. 1 crore will be shown under doubtful accounts and the interest accrued and not paid will be credited in the books. People from foreign countries, people from America, started saying that we were practising wrong methods. To maintain capital adequacy, the Government has made a provision for budgetary support to the extent of Rs. 11,300 crores.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Kindly conclude.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I will just take 2 to 3 minutes. Please be generous. Regarding the Budget, I would like to quote what Mr. Veerappa Moily, the Chief Minister of Karnataka said:

"The Government felt that the present pattern of transfer of resources from the Centre to the States did not build any positive incentive for better performance in

resource mobilisation and prudent resource mobilisation. On the contrary, the States with better resource mobilisation felt that they were penalised by the successive Finance Commissions.

It wants the Commission not to pursue blindly the objective of reducing the fiscal deficits of the States. 'The blinkered view' that public sector investment should be reduced to leave more funds for the private sector should not be followed with religious fervour.

The IMF conditionality of reducing the fiscal deficit of the Government, it argues, has been carried down to the State level through the first guideline to the Commission to aim at the 'objective of not only balancing the receipts on expenditure on revenue account of both the States and the Central Government but also generating surplus for capital investment and reducing fiscal deficit.'

Karnataka has urged the Tenth Finance Commission to recommend substantial financial transfers from the Centre to States, to reduce their fiscal deficits."

Sir, I shall tell you what Karnataka feels. The memorandum submitted to the Tenth Finance Commission says: "While the Central fiscal deficit also includes monetised deficit, the net borrowings from the Reserve Bank of India in case of the States, the monetised deficit is limited to a small extent by way of permissible Ways and Means Advance and overdrafts. The limits of Ways and Means Advances has remained fixed for quite some time and the monetised deficit does not increase on this account. The monetary impact of deficit at the Centre has been very much felt because it has been pushing up the price level through increased money supply. The high rate of inflation, in turn, has created a balance of payments problem. The States

only have revenue deficits and overall Budget deficit and the only fiscal deficit is the public debt of the States." This is what was said. I think, now, the Central Government will open its eyes.

Sir, the only other aspects that I would deal with is regarding foodgrains and employment. You can find out that the foodgrains production in the last year...

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY):** There is another speaker from your party. But since you are consuming the whole time of your party, he may not get any time.

**SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI:** That we will adjust with each other.

Regarding foodgrains, the agricultural production increased by 3 per cent and the foodgrains stock also increased. But, during April—November, 1991, the offtake by the public distribution system went down. How is it so? In 1992, from April to November, it was 11.7 million tonnes but during the year 1993, that is, from April to November, it came down to 9.45 million tonnes; that is, there has been a decline of more than 2 million tonnes. What I want to know is, how it is that the offtake of the public distribution system came down in spite of an increase in the foodgrains stock. I would like the Minister to clarify this point. It is not that the offtake reduced because of the decrease in the market price. What was the market trend? The Consumer Price Index, during the year 1992-93, showed a 12 point increase. But in 1993-94, the increase was about 20 points. I shall tell you, as regards primary articles, during January-March, the increase was about 2.5 per cent; from April to June, it increased by 3.5 per cent from July to September, the increase was 5.6 per cent; during October-November, it was 9 per cent. That

[Shri S. Viduthalai Virumbi]

means, there was a 2.5 per cent increase in the first quarter, 3.5 per cent increase in the second quarter, 5.6 per cent increase in the third quarter and 9 per cent increase in the last quarter of the year. So, even when the price level increased quarter after quarter and even when the Consumer Price Index showed an increasing trend, the offtake has come down. It clearly shows—and I accuse the Government for this—that the purchasing power of the commonman has come down. And it is not because of any other reason...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Please conclude now.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I come to the last point...

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): No, I am going to call the next speaker. Your party's time is over. In fact, you have taken a little more time. So, you have to conclude.

SHRI S. VIDUTHALAI VIRUMBI: I will conclude in one minute.

As regards employment, I would like to point out what the Government had assured in this regard. It said: "Additional employment opportunities of the order of 8.9 million per year on an average during the Eighth Plan period and of the order of 9 to 10 million per year on an average during the period 1997-2002 are expected to be generated." This much is expected to be generated provided the Government has kept up the GDP level, that is, at 5.6 per cent. But the Government has already failed in this regard. This clearly shows that the Government will not be in a position to generate employment opportunities as assured. So, Sir, I feel that the Government has failed to take correct decisions in every field, be it agriculture, employment of public sector, undertakings. And the Government is leading

the country to utter destruction.

With these words, I conclude, Sir.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Shri Murlidhar Chandrakant Bhandare, You have only 15 minutes.

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE (Maharashtra): Sir, it is more than enough... (Interruptions)

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: It is not 50 minutes!

SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE: Sir, one gets used to listening to the Budget speech of the Finance Minister on the 28th of February. Well, people have different expectations; sometimes they are fulfilled, sometimes they are shattered. But, to sum up, we in this House do not look at it purely as an yearly exercise of balancing your accounts, calculating your income, deciding on your expenditure, your excess and your deficit. Some of us who have come here look at it not for today, not for the year 1994-95, but where will we be when the new millennium starts in the year 2001? And if I have to take that into account, this is one of the most pleasing and satisfying Budgets that I have seen. It does not interrupt what we have started before. It goes smoothly on the road of liberalisation. It goes unobstructed on the road of economic restructuring. At the same time, it does not forget the past. And whatever may be the criticism against this Budget, at least on one major point the whole Opposition has been completely silenced. In the last two years, they have been shouting that it is a sell out to the IMF. Today, I have not heard even a word about the IMF from anybody.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Anyway, you have sold out. What is the point in saving it now?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Padmanabham, your turn will come to speak.

**SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRA KANT BHANDARE:** So many things have been placed in the Budget. The time at my disposal is so short that I do not want to enumerate them. But one and many more of them are bound to totally disappoint the IMF. It only shows that we, this Government stands on its own strength. It only shows that the Prime Minister has his own views, has his own policy. And it only shows that we will not sacrifice either our sovereignty or our self-respect or our national dignity. And this Budget is the proof of that.

So, what has appealed to me most in this Budget is the fifth point which the hon. Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, emphasised. I think that was a mandate which the Party has given to the Government and, particularly under the very inspiring leadership of the Prime Minister Narasimha Raoji. And may I read the fifth point for the benefit of those who want to know the direction, the goal, the thrust, the heart, the soul, the core and everything that the Budget should be? I read:

"Most importantly, we must re-orient our development policies and programmes to address more effectively the problems of poverty, unemployment and social deprivation which affect a large mass of our people, particularly in rural areas."

This is the heart and soul of this Budget. And I must compliment the Prime Minister as well as the hon. Finance Minister and his colleagues for this excellent Budget.

Now, I would say this. My mind goes back to Tirupathi. The words of the Congress President, the Prime Minister, echo in my ears. And this is what he said at Tirupathi two years back. According to the Congress President, and I quote:

"Employment, poverty alleviation and welfare programmes cover all levels of the social pyramid with particular emphasis on the base of that pyramid. As long as the Congress Government is there, it will never forget the base of this social pyramid; it will see that this gap between the poor and the rich is bridged."

And we only shout from the rooftops that we will narrow this gap. But I am proud that the Prime Minister said it from the mountain-top of Davos. Again he repeated it only two days back when he said it in the united Kingdom. Therefore, make no mistake that we are against liberalisation. We are for liberalisation. Make no mistake that we admit that we are not for the kind of State intervention as long as this kind of poverty and dire needs of the people of this country remain and rightly the path which we have charted out from the beginning is being charted out for future also by us. And that is the path of mixed economy; neither this way nor that way, the economy which will meet the requirements of our economy on our terms, not at the terms dictated by others. And when we look at it, I see such a rosy picture before us. I do not want to quote those figures because they have been quoted *ad-nauseum* by different people at different times. But the very fact that we have not faulted on giving the best that we can in the Budget to various poverty alleviation programmes which are mentioned explicitly in the Budget speech, clearly marks out a commitment of our Government, of our Prime Minister and the Finance Minister to the people of this country. It is this commitment which has seen such wonderful results in the recent 4 or 5 Assembly elections which we had. People know that if they have to improve the quality of their life if they have to live better in their day-to-day life, there is only one party which

[Shri Muljhar Chandrakant  
Bhandare]

can rescue them and that is the Congress Party.

There is one thing more which I want to say and then go to the specifics. What I find today is a synthesis between the past and the present. Self-reliance, not in isolation, but as an integral part of the world economy, is the key to all progress and prosperity. There is no question of allowing domination by multinationals. We are all very confident about it that we will work with all of them but as equal partners in growth. We will not allow any exploitation. There is no unlimited or absolute acceptance of either free market economy or a rejection of the earlier forces of planning and public sector undertakings. The areas of State intervention have been redefined and re-restricted and the emphasis today for the State intervention is whether its presence is for the benefit and protection of the poor.

Having said so, may I say that there are a few things on which I would invite the attention of the hon. Finance Minister? The deficit is, undoubtedly, large. I do not like it myself. But history has proved that our governments have managed inflation much better than the Opposition governments. I am quite sure that with the strict control that is necessary, with the monitoring that is there, we will be able to contain inflation. Ultimately, inflation is the cruellest form of taxation for the poorest of our people and I would like the Government to be very vigilant about it. All round, I have reason to be satisfied. In a world which is engulfed in recession, we have not done bad at all. May I say with all the humility and emphasis at my command that where the rest of the world has been going towards market democracy, as they call it now, we have stuck to, what

I may respectfully say, human democracy? We will continue to believe in human democracy. We will never forget the face of democracy which is essentially a human face and not merely a market face. Sir, there are many things which are not being attended to. It is a matter of regret that today India is not producing cars for the physically handicapped. I do not want to know why we have not achieved that expertise but, since you have done so much for the physically handicapped, I will be grateful if some concession is given to those physically handicapped who may have to import cars because they are not available indigenously in the country.

Then, Sir, people have been mentioning that we are not pouring enough money for the infrastructure. I think, a stage has come when we should stop, do a lot of stock-taking and keep our fingers crossed. Nobody can say with positive assertion that this will happen or that will not happen. All that is necessary to do is to lay emphasis on two things. One is control of population and the second is, improvement of work culture. The improvement of work culture should start from our own House. Look at the amount of time which we waste. Rajya Sabha with half the membership of the Lok Sabha should require twice the time as is required by the Lok Sabha to discuss the JPC report. I think a time has come for us to work hard, to render better output in terms of legislation, in terms of debates.

Then I come to the earthquake relief fund. The worst earthquake of the century did take place in Maharashtra last September. Now the point is, if you donate for the earthquake relief fund to the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, you get 50 per cent reduction in the income tax, but if you pay to the Prime Minister, you get hundred per cent reduction. I am aware that after our representation you have removed

the distinction, but whether it is earthquake of drought or flood or any other natural calamity, should there be a difference in the tax deduction? When it is paid in the Prime Minister's Relief Fund you get 100 per cent deduction and when it is paid to the Chief Minister you get 50 per cent deduction. I have been repeatedly...

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA** (Bihar): Do you want the Prime Minister to be denigrated?

**SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM:** Or be reduced to the level of the Chief Minister?

**SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE:** I do not think so. These are the matters to which I am going to take your signatures very soon on a representation. This kind of discrimination should be removed.

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:** That I will sign.

**THE VICE-PRESIDENT (SHRI V NARAYANASAMY):** He is telling about the natural calamities.

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:** I will sign his memorandum but he should not denigrate our Prime Minister.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY):** He is not doing that.

**SHRI MURLIDHAR CHANDRAKANT BHANDARE:** What I want to say is that in a federal structure this is not permissible. I would like the hon Finance Minister to respond to this.

There is one more thing. There is a demand. It is not what people have told me. I know that there was an exemption of income-tax for the residents of Ladakh between the years 1982 and 1988-89. Now the things have become the worst for them. May

I earnestly appeal to the hon. Finance Minister to restore that exemption that used to be given to them during all these years?

Sir, I can only say this. Mr. Ashok Mitra found that this Budget was in bits and pieces; that it was not an integrated one; and that it had no vision. But I hope I have satisfied him and the House—unfortunately, he is not here today—that this Budget is an integrated whole which combines the past with the present for a glorious future. May I also say that it holds out a vision which I had to tell the Asiatic Society in New York when we were discussing the problems? An article had appeared in the *Economist* which compared China with India. Several questions were put to me and my reply to them was this: You are asking these questions as if you think that China is a hare and India is a tortoise. I said, "I will accept your premise but don't be surprised what the tortoise turns into the hare." With that assurance in my mind and with that hope of the future for my country, I thank you, Mr. Vice-Chairman.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY):** Now, Mr. Swaminathan, Mr. Swaminathan, I would like to inform you that the time allotted to your party is twenty minutes.

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN** (Tamil Nadu) Mr. Vice-Chairman Sir, please tell me when 14-15 minutes are over.

Sir, within the short time available, I will try to conclude the topic by giving the salient points because here is no time for rendering explanation or quoting figures. While starting my Budget speech, I welcome the liberalisation policy of the Government and

I wish the New Economic Policy all the success. I also congratulate the Government for the increase in the foreign exchange reserves. I congratulate the Government brought during the last two-and-half years they have brought the economy of our country which was in a very bad shape to a position when we have surplus and we are able to repay a part of it to IMF beforehand. That is something for which the Government needs to be congratulated. I wish to congratulate the Finance Minister for controlling the inflation even though the inflationary potential has increased a lot. Even then, keeping in view what the position was two-and-a-half years ago, he has to be congratulated, whether it is liked by all or not, because the rate of inflation has been reduced from 17 per cent odd two-and-half-years ago to 9-10 per cent today. This is all because of the liberalisation policy, the New Economic Policy and the vision of the Finance Minister.

Sir, the most important thing, to my mind, in discussing the Budget is to face the challenges thrown to us because my personal feeling is that the next two-and-half years period is going to be the most crucial period for our economy even though what has happened before is appreciable. I have seen countries and I have learnt about countries. The process of transition has to be time-bound. A booklet has also been given to the Members of Parliament indicating as to what has already happened and what the Government proposes to do hereafter. My point is that there is no time-frame for various changes in the policy matters that the Government has discussed in the booklet which has been circulated to the Members of Parliament. My personal feeling is that transition has to be within a time-frame of five years. Anything less than five years will be too short. Many countries have completed the transition. Irres-

pective of the fact that the Communist countries have no private institutions and the under developed countries have institutions by way of mixed economy, any country which has completed the transition process within a period of five years, whichever country is able to do it within a period of five years has been successful. Any country, which has extended the transition process for more than five years, which appears to be the optimum period, gets into difficulty. I am happy that Shri Bhandare referred to this matter. But my point is that we are going slow in this process. When we take more time than what we should take, and we know this Government has got only two to two and a half years.

**SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM:** Are you assuring them?

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:** I am not assuring them, but I hope and wish because we want a stable Government and a stable political atmosphere for the liberalisation process to succeed. The liberalisation policy by itself cannot be successful. It has to be backed by the political and social structure. Unless the Finance Minister has the political backing of the Prime Minister on the Parliament or of all the parties so that the Government pursuing liberalisation is stable, it will not work. Even foreigners will not have confidence in our economy, as we ourselves will not have. So, I wish that this Government completes five years. But my request is that they complete this process within the timeframe. After five years you will reap benefits out of it. Why I am saying so is that many of the East and Central European countries like Poland, Czechoslovakia and Latin American countries thought that the political process had not been supporting them enough I am not criticising the Prime Minister or the Congress Party, but

if you start hesitating and feel that there is election ahead, you will take the decision on it later on, this type of political indecision and political variability may affect the very structure of the economic policy. East and Central European countries and many of the Communist Governments as well as the Latin American countries which elongated the policy got greater resistance. It was not there in the beginning. When you start the liberalisation process, everybody will support you because they suffered under the previous regime. They might have subsidies, but they did not have economic democracy. People had to stand in long queues for years together. There were cartoons in Russia that people had been standing in queues for years and somebody had a beard, when asked why he was having the beard, the reply was that he was standing for long and he developed a beard like Rip Van Winkle. This was the condition before. Later on the people may tend to forget the position, if you continue the process for long. Then there may come up people who are opposed to the policy of liberalisation. They may say the result has not come about. This kind of thinking may be created in their minds. Political and social systems will not come after you. That is why I say, go fast. I advocate the necessity of going fast in the next two or three years.

Public relations is also very important. I from the Opposition do not need to tell you, you develop it, but when you started the liberalisation process, there was a lot of propaganda and public relations exercise on TV and radio. Nowadays there are no meetings, no conferences, no discussions. So, people do not know what is happening.

(THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH (in the Chair)

So, I advocate that you take up the matter more with the people so that they are alive to the liberalisation policy of the Government.

Another most important point about which the State Governments and the parties backing the State Governments feel very sore is the question of price rise. During the liberalisation process the price rise has to be there, because no Government can afford to keep the prices at a standstill. Actually the prices had been suppressed under the old regime when you had the system of subsidy and there was centralised economy. So, you did not allow the prices to go up. This disequilibrium in the economy may create an explosive situation. Naturally, when you get into the liberalisation process, you try to eliminate the pressure on the prices. You allow the prices to go up and expect them to come down to the normal level. The prices cannot come to the normal level. You have subsidised some items. The prices had been under pressure. The economic policy under which we are living is such that naturally the prices will go up. In many East European countries and Latin American countries prices were allowed to go up. When the prices are allowed to go up, then you will be able to bridge the gap of your economic system and the revenue system. Then ultimately what happens? The poor people in the country are not able to bear the increase in prices.

There has been a lot of criticism regarding your resorting to administered prices before the Budget. There has been a continuous argument going on in this Parliament over a period of years that administered prices should not be resorted to before the Budget. I for one feel that administered prices and Budget are the same because in countries where it was a centralised process, there were no direct taxes. The prices are all controlled there or the prices are

kept in a particular position or the revenue is collected only through administered prices and through income tax. So in a mixed economy also, the Government has to get a certain amount out of administered prices. So naturally they resort to administered prices through which they try to bridge the gap in taxation. It is a form of increasing the Government's revenue. But the point is they resort to administered prices on various essential commodities and petroleum products. The people who are going to suffer the most are the people who come under direct control of the States. The Central Government may be controlling the administration in some States. But in other States, some State Governments are controlling the administration. In some States the ruling party may be controlling the administration and in some other States the Opposition parties may be controlling the administration. Who are going to be affected by the administered prices? The vulnerable sections of the society are going to be affected. I know that certain countries have wanted only allowed the prices to go up. But they never allowed the people to get enough money to pay for it. That would create an inflationary pressure indirectly and hurt the people in their bellies. Who are suffering? The Government who are looking after the administration in the States are suffering. I think, Mr. Bhandare said, "During the last elections, people have proved that the liberalisation policy is working." How is that the liberalisation policy working? It has affected the State Governments. It may affect your Government in some States. I want to tell you... (*Interruptions*)... Don't be complacent because of your liberalisation policy. I will place my point. You can say whatever you like. The liberalisation policy has created disaffection in the States. Why did you create disaffection in the States? It has been created due to increase in the prices of various commodities. People felt

very unhappy about the Government. Which is the Government near to them? It is the State Governments which are near to them. The Central Government, Rajya Sabha and Lok Sabha are distant institutions to the people. Our hon. Chief Minister of Tamil Nadu is...

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY** (Pondicherry): Will you yield for a minute?

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN**: If the Vice-Chairman gives me the time which are you are taking now I can yield.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN** (**SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH**): Mr. Narayanasamy, you are going to speak after him.

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY**: I want to seek only one clarification from him. He is a very senior Member. He said that the administered prices resorted to by the Central Government have affected the State Governments only but not the Central Government. I do not agree with his point of view. It affects everybody.

**SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM**: The Central Government will not be benefited by it.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN** (**SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH**): Please don't waste the time Mr. Swaminathan, please continue.

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN**: When I support Mr. Narayanasamy's party, he feels very happy. But when I argue against his party's policies, he will try to take away my time. I do not want to displease Mr. Narayanasamy because he is one of our Vice-Chairman. At any time he may come and occupy the Chair and may not give me the time. So, I have to appreciate his sentiments also.

The point I am trying to make is that the State Governments are nearer to the people. So whatever happens on the price front, people feel that the State Government is responsible for it.

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:**

Mr. Narayanasamy is in the panel of the Vice-Chairmen. So, he is giving you some concession. Then, it amounts to bribery. Sir, the point is that you cannot afford to do that. Why did many State Governments lose? Because of the liberalisation process, many State Governments lost. And they have brought in the Congress Government there. When you go for election of the Congress party to the Centre, I do not know what is going to happen. There is difference in a party trying to get elected for a State and for the Centre. People may say that both the State and the Centre are responsible and so they will neither vote for the party in power at the Centre nor the party in power in the State. They will go for elections in another two and a half years or two years or earlier. The point I want to make is, whenever you are taking a decision... (Interruptions). Mr. Narayanasamy, you come and contest in Tamil Nadu, alone. Do not come on the shoulder of somebody, AIADMK or DMK. You contest alone. I welcome you to come contest in Tamil Nadu.

What is the Government of India doing? It is bringing its own liberalisation policy. Liberalisation policy or Budget or the economy of the Government is not only of the Government of India. State Government Budgets, State economies are there. Even if you do not have any revenue deficit and even if you balance your Budget, all the States have got unbalanced Budgets and have deficits. What will happen to the economy? The economy will be in a shambles. Ultimately, I am saying, when you are taking a crucial decision of liberalisation, when you

are making a new economic policy, it is very necessary that not only you speak in Parliament, convince Members of Parliament but you should also consult the State Governments. You have never done this. You have never consulted the Chief Ministers before deciding on a policy as to how they feel about it. As far as I know, you never took the State Governments into confidence. You never called the Chief Ministers for consultation and had a complete discussion on any policy. This is one point. Before announcing the administered prices, affecting the poor people of the States, consult the State Governments. As far as I know, my hon. Chief Minister has already stated—it was also published in the Press—to the effect, "We are sorry that this kind of a unilateral attitude is being taken by the Central Government. When they are increasing the administered prices, they never consult my State, never consult the Chief Ministers. I am unable to do anything. And I have to bear the brunt of the whole policy decision that you are taking on the administered prices." I would only say that whenever you have a major programme of change, be it economic changes, liberalisation administered prices, or whatever it is take the State Governments into confidence, not for any other purpose but just for your policy to succeed. Take all the Chief Ministers and parties in your hold. Try to convince them that yours is the best policy to be adopted.

The most important thing is growth. The pace of growth has to be determined. How are you going to balance the GDP accordingly? They say there will be 14 per cent growth. I do not know whether the calculation is correct. If it is 14 per cent, then next year your GDP will be under six per cent. That is the calculation given by "The Hindu". I do not know whether you will be able to get 14 per cent growth. Already the industrial growth is somewhere around 2.5

per cent. What is going to happen to your agriculture? There are some hon. Members of the Opposition who have been blessing you saying that there should be a good monsoon. Maybe, the intention of the Opposition is the reverse. Suppose there is no good monsoon. About 50 per cent of the GDP... (*Interruptions*).

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:** What else the Opposition can do than blessing them?

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:** Yes, we are blessing them. But they may feel that other way.

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY:** Don't you want a good monsoon in Tamil Nadu?

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:** There is a good monsoon there. A good lady is there as the Chief Minister. We are having good monsoons for the last three years. During the Conains. Because our hon. Chief Minister is there, we are having good monsoons in Tamil Nadu. They increased the PDS prices. They have increased the procurement prices. They are responsible. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY:** We want better prices for farmers.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH):** Don't interrupt. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY:** What is the logic behind it? On the one hand you want better prices... (*Interruptions*)

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH):** Mr. Swaminathan, don't quarrel. You have to address the Chair. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:** Sir, they are attracting my attention by

interrupting me time and again. (*Interruptions*) Sir, please ask Mr. Narayanasamy not to interrupt me. (*Interruptions*)

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY:** Sir, he is speaking against the liberalisation policy but he had supported the liberalisation policy.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH):** Mr. Narayanasamy, why are you interrupting him? You can speak whatever you like when your turn comes.

**SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN:** The Government increased the issue price of rice, the issue price of sugar and increased the price of petrol and thereafter, my esteemed friends from the DMK Party criticised the State Government for such increases as if the State Government as responsible for such a hike. Then we have to give reply to the Opposition people in the State Assembly that the said increase is not because of the State Government but because of the decision taken by the Central Government (*Interruptions*). The whole responsibility for such increases in price lies with the Central Government. I would say that the Government is not going to control the inflation. You are dreaming to have an economic growth of 14 per cent in the industrial sector during the next year. The Government is saying that better investments have been there. If the growth has to come from investment, then the Government can have a master plan to have growth. But the growth does not come by investment alone. Your booklet says, "having a proper investment climate, having more investment in agriculture having more growth." So, there is no problem in regard to investment. The problem lies with growth. The return on investment in industry, you have investment is very poor. There have been no returns on the investment made in the industrial sector. How much amount has the Government invested in public sector and what

is the return? It is not only in India but the world over that wherever they went in for public sector, it has been making losses. In almost all the countries of the world, wherever they had the public sector, they have been losing. Hence, I would say that there is something wrong with the medicine and not with the people. You see thalidomide is a medicine given to people for controlling the virus infection. Many children were born without limbs and the problem was not with the mother but the problem was with thalidomide. In the same way, wherever you have the centralised economy, this problem would be there. My Communist friends are not able to find out as to which country is going to advocate the centralised economy. But they advocated for the Government of India. This is what is happening all over the country. The return on the investment should be more than the investment. Unless you have proper return and productivity, unless you have a proper work culture, unless you have new institutions built, you cannot have the liberalisation policy by the mere show of economy. You should have the political as well as the social support. If you are able to build institutions, well and good. If you are not able to do so and there is stiff opposition to building the same, then you have to frame your own legal system and the whole thing has to be done within two-and-a-half years. So, unless you are able to move forward and achieve success within this period, it may be too late and ultimately, there may be more people opposing you and they may say that the Government has failed and the system would not work. Sir, I would like to make one or two points more. Sir, a fiscal balance is also essential. And I would say deficit has to be avoided all the time, and deficit can be avoided only if the subsidies are reduced, only if the unnecessary expenditure of the Government is controlled. The Government expenditure, whether it is

essential or non-essential, is the same; it is accumulating. You have never controlled your Government. Your Government is a big brother. If you put the load of the Government on the people, you will not be able to do it. What is the practical policy the Finance Minister has got for controlling the Government expenditure? That has to be adumbrated to the House; otherwise, the people won't believe you. You want to spend as you like but you don't allow the people to spend. That is another important thing.

Regarding the Public Distribution System, I would only wish to say that there has been a lot of pilferage. Many people who are not concerned with the Public Distribution System are also enjoying it. You have to monitor the system and target the thing to the appropriate people. Perhaps, you can think of some other system, maybe, other countries are doing it, do not know. You can examine it. I was told even in Sri Lanka food-stuffs are being distributed. You can have a different system. You are not able to revamp the PDS because a lot of people who are benefited by this system are not allowing you to target it to the people concerned. You can think of some other system. That is also an important point.

Coming to MODVAT and VAT, again, I would plead with the Government that they have to consult with the State Governments. I am very

sorry, there had been no consultation. And the hon. Finance Minister has said, "Regarding MODVAT I have to consult." How do you bring in the value added system? Wherever they have dismantled the Centralised control of the economy, they have given incentives to only a section of private people. You want to give incentives to people to come up.

They have brought in VAT. There is a value added system. The State Governments have got their own sale tax whereas you have excise duty. Before the system is brought in, you should have a complete discussion and a sort of understanding with the State Governments. You have not started the process. When are you going to start the process? I do not know whether you have started it or not. You have to start the process quite early because you have got only 2-1/2 years more to serve. If you fail within a period of 2-1/2 years, you cannot come back as Mr. Bhandare said, again to face this Parliament. So, I would request the hon. Finance Minister to start the process and discuss the matter with the State Governments... *(Interruption)*... That is why I am giving all the prescriptions for you if you want to come back. If you do not accept the prescriptions, you will not come back... *(Interruptions)*...

Sir, you please consult the State Governments on GATT and MOD-VAT as early as possible so that there will be a consensus on the liberalisa-

tion policy. Again, Sir I would say that institutional reforms are more important and they have to be done. You have codified what has to be done, but these reforms are getting delayed. And I personally feel, if you want to have productivity increased, work-culture has to be increased. And so many archaic systems and institutions which you have brought have to be dismantled.

While winding up, I would only say that the people should have a feeling that whoever works harder, whoever produces goods for the country is benefited. He will be given incentives. The people who are no good, the people who are only taking benefits out of the country, should not be rewarded. The whole system is for IMF. The people who have never contributed towards the development of the country have been benefited. The people who are contributing to the development of the country have been penalised. So, this system will not work. There will be a change in the thinking of the people. Unless you think it with different framework, most probably, you will not be able to do it. Sir, my only wish is that I should have been given more time; for want of time, I would only say while welcoming the liberalisation policy, while welcoming the Budget the Government has presented, I also criticise the Government for not consulting the State Governments, and for allowing the prices to increase. So, we have to oppose this Budget on that count also.

With this feeling, Sir, I submit my thoughts on this Budget. Thank you

श्री मूलचन्द मीणा (राजस्थान) :  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी ने 1994-95 का बजट रखा और पक्ष और विपक्ष के कई सदस्यों ने चर्चा में भाग लिया। लेकिन चर्चाएं जैसी हुई, ऐसा लगता है कि वित्त मंत्री जी ने जो कुछ किया और जो देश को मिला, विपक्ष के लोगों का एक ही रवैया रहा कि उन्होंने जो इस देश के लिए उपलब्धियां की उसके बारे में कोई चर्चा नहीं की जबकि प्रजातंत्र में पक्ष और विपक्ष दोनों होते हैं और खामियों की बात तो वह करें, लेकिन साथ ही सरकार की जो उपलब्धियां हैं, उनका भी बखान करे तो यह प्रजातंत्र में एक अच्छी परंपरा होगी।

महोदय, मैं आज से तीन साल पहले की बात कहना चाहता हूँ। उस समय की देश की आर्थिक स्थिति और आज तीन साल बाद की देश की आर्थिक स्थिति में कितना परिवर्तन हुआ है। यह देश की नयी आर्थिक नीति के कारण हुआ है, उदारीकरण की नीति के कारण हुआ है, लेकिन विपक्ष के लोग चाहे वह नर्गजनिक मंत्री पर हों या सदन के अंदर हों, नयी आर्थिक नीति और नयी उदारीकरण की नीति को बुराई करते रहे हैं, लेकिन उनके क्या अच्छे परिणाम देश के सामने आए हैं, उसकी बात वे नहीं करते। महोदय, वित्त मंत्री जी इस देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत बनाने के लिए जो भी कदम उठा रहे हैं, उसके लिए मैं उन्हें बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। महोदय, वर्ष 1991 के अंदर इस देश में विदेशी मुद्रा का भंडार एक बिलियन डालर में कुछ अधिक था, लेकिन हम आज के विदेशी मुद्रा के भंडार को देखें तो पाते हैं कि वह 13 बिलियन डालर के लगभग है। तो क्या यह वित्त मंत्री जी की नयी आर्थिक नीति के कारण नहीं हुआ है? महोदय, श्री नरगिस राव जी

की सरकार से पहले जो देश में सरकार थी, अगर हम उनकी नीतियों को या उनके आर्थिक विचारों को देखें, तो उनके विचारों के अनुसार तो हमको इस देश का सोना भी गिरवी रखना पड़ा था। महोदय, जब-जब भी देश में परिवर्तन हुए हैं ये हमेशा आर्थिक नीति और उदारीकरण की बुराइयां ही करते हैं और जब-जब ये सत्ता में आए हैं तब-तब इन्होंने इस देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को कमजोर बनाया है, जर्जर बनाया है, लेकिन आज की नयी आर्थिक नीति और उदारीकरण की नीति के चलते ही हमने अपने देश का सोना जो गिरवी रखा था, उसे छड़वाया है और साथ ही वापिस कब्जा भी कायम किया है। हमें इन बातों को नहीं भूलना चाहिए। हमारे देश में जो मुद्रास्फीति की स्थिति बनी हुई थी, उसको घटाकर आधा किया है। पहले की सरकार के समय में विदेशी ऋण और भुगतान का संतुलन खराब हो चुका था और विदेशों में हमारी साख गिर चुकी थी लेकिन आज वापिस भुगतान संतुलन कायम हुआ है और विदेशों में हमारी साख बनी है। हमारे मुल्कों के लोग भारत की आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत मानने लगे हैं। इस बजट के माध्यम से वित्त मंत्री जी ने गांव में रहने वाले लोगों के लिए जो प्रावधान बजट के अंदर किया है, इस देश की गरीब जनता और गांवों के लिए जो किया है, दुर्भाग्यवश उम पर किसी ने चर्चा नहीं की केवल बड़े उद्योगपतियों और इंडस्ट्रीज की बातें की गयीं कि इतनी कर में छूट दी गयी है और इससे यह नुकसान होगा और लाभ होगा। वित्त मंत्री जी ने गांव में रहने वाले बेरोजगार युवकों के लिए जिसकी कि घोषणा देश के प्रधान मंत्री जी ने 15 अगस्त, 1993 को की थी, उसको लागू करने के लिए बजट में जो प्रावधान किया है लघु उद्योगों को महत्व देने के लिए, बढ़ावा देने के लिए। आपने बेरोजगार युवकों के लिए स्वरोजगार योजना के अंतर्गत वर्ष 1993-94 के बजट से बढ़ाकर वर्ष 1994-95 के लिए 145 करोड़ रुपए का प्रावधान किया है। क्या इससे

[श्री मूलचन्द मीणा]

दस लाख इस देश के बेरोजगार लोगों को रोजगार नहीं मिलेगा? इस देश में बेरोजगारी का जो हौस्रा खड़ा किया हुआ है, उसमें जरूर कमी आएगी।

कृषि क्षेत्र के संबंध में मैं मंत्री जी यह कहना चाहता हूँ कि आपके बजट में कृषि के लिए 2005 करोड़ रुपए रखने का अनुमान है खर्च करने के लिए, लेकिन कृषि का जो माध्यम है वह बागवानी नहीं है। इस देश में बहुत कम किसान बागवानी का धंधा करते हैं, 10 परसेंट किसान बागवानी का धंधा करते होंगे। आपने ज्यादा प्रावधान बागवानी को दिया है, 42 प्रतिशत की वृद्धि करके, 184 करोड़ बढ़ाया गया है बजट में, लेकिन अन्य जो किसान हैं इस देश के अंदर, जो उद्यानों से जुड़े हुए नहीं हैं, बागवानी से जुड़े हुए नहीं हैं, उनके लिए भी आप कुछ राशि बढ़ाकर रखें ताकि किसानों को राहत मिले। कई बार डंकल प्रस्ताव पर चर्चा होती है, अलग-अलग बातें होती हैं। इस देश की आर्थिक स्थिति मजबूत हो, इस देश का किसान मजबूत हो, इस देश का गरीब आदमी आगे बढ़े, यह जरूरी है। लेकिन, यह सब केवल एक ही दृष्टिकोण समझते हैं कि कैसे सरकार पर लांछन लगाया जाए अगले चुनाव में जीता जाए। बस यही एक उद्देश्य इनका रहता है। हमारी सरकार की यह उपलब्धि है, एक इतिहास कायम किया है सरकार ने किसानों को समर्थन मूल्य देकर। अब से पहले कई सरकारें रही ह, किमी सरकार ने समर्थन मूल्य किसान को नहीं दिया था, लेकिन नरसिंह राव जी की सरकार के कारण, इस देश के वित्त मंत्री के कारण सरकार ने समर्थन मूल्य किसानों को दिया है। इस सदन के अंदर किसानों को शिष्ट जाने वाले समर्थन मूल्य के कारण महंगाई बढ़ी, इस तरह की चर्चा इस सदन में हो तो इससे घटिया बात किसानों के लिए आप क्या कर सकते हैं इसलि कृषि के क्षेत्र में, उद्यानों से अलग हटकर, जो किसान हैं उनका लाने पट्टे के लिए आप

कुछ और ज्यादा धन का प्रावधान रखे तो वित्त मंत्री जी उससे किसानों को लाभ मिलेगा।

शिक्षा के क्षेत्र में आपने प्राथमिक शिक्षा को विशेष महत्व देने के लिए 17.6 प्रतिशत की बजट में वृद्धि की है। भारत में अशिक्षित लोग ज्यादा हैं और यह प्राथमिक शिक्षा इस देश का निर्माण करने के लिए है, इस देश के नौजवान को तैयार करने के लिए है, शिक्षित वैज्ञानिक तैयार करने के लिए है। यह शिक्षा जो प्राथमिक स्तर पर होती है, उसमें आपने जो यह प्रावधान किया है, यह एक अच्छा कार्य किया है आपने। अगर लोगों को प्राथमिक शिक्षा अच्छी मिलेगी तो आगे जाकर देश में अच्छे विद्वान बनेंगे, अच्छे वैज्ञानिक बनेंगे, अच्छे इंजीनियर बनेंगे। आपने एक आई० टी० आई० स्थापना का किया है और असम जैसे प्रदेश के अंदर दो केन्द्रीय विश्वविद्यालयों की स्थापना का किया है, यह भी आपने अच्छा काम किया है। ... (समय की घंटों) ...

सर, मैंने तो अभी बोलना स्टार्ट ही किया है, अभी प्रारंभ ही किया है।

उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) : यह फर्स्ट वानिंग है, मतलब आप अब समाप्ति की ओर बढ़ेंगे।

श्री मूलचन्द मीणा : शिक्षा के माध्यम से एक व्यक्ति के जीवन को, उसको अच्छे रास्ते पर ले जाने का, अच्छा जीवन बनाने के लिए जो आपने प्रावधान किया है, यह आपने बहुत अच्छा काम किया है। इसके लिए मैं माननीय मंत्री जी को धन्यवाद देना चाहता हूँ। अभी जब बजट पर चर्चा हो रही थी तो मुरली मनोहर जोशी जी बोल रहे थे। वे तो शिक्षक थे। उनको तो शिक्षा और विश्व विद्यालयों की स्थापना के बारे में बोलना चाहिए। लेकिन वे एक जगह भी शिक्षा के बारे में नहीं बोले, शिक्षा के बारे में सरकार क्या करने जा रही है, उस पर कितना बजट रखा है। आज भी जो शिक्षक हैं, मुझे समझ में

नहीं आता कि राजनीतिक दृष्टिगत के कारण आप अपने-अपने मूल कर्तव्य को भी भूल जाएं और आज जयपाल रेड्डी जी बड़े जोर-जोर से भाषण कर रहे थे, बड़ा जोर लगा रहे थे।

**श्री कलाश नारायण सारंग :** जोर से तो आप भी बोल रहे हैं।

**श्री मूल चंद्र मीणा :** नहीं, मैं बहुत धीरे बोल रहा हूँ।

**श्री कलाश नारायण सारंग :** आप बजट पर बोल रहे हैं या जोशी जी और रेड्डी जी पर बोल रहे हैं?

**श्री मूलचन्द्र मीणा :** मैं बजट के साथ उन पर भी बोल रहा हूँ जो इस विषय में बोले हैं। गरीबी को मिटाने के लिए कई योजनाएँ केन्द्रीय सरकार ने चलाई हुई हैं। जैसे, जवाहर रोजगार योजना। इसके अंदर गरीब को मजदूरी मिल सके। इसमें कोई चर्चा ही नहीं की कि इसके अंदर आपने पैसा बढ़ाया है या रोजगार मिलेगा, गरीबी मिटेगी? इस देश की गरीबी दूर करने का कांग्रेस का नारा शुरू से रहा है। कांग्रेस चाहती है कि जब तक देश की गरीबी नहीं मिटेगी, इसी के कारण गांव का विकास तथा गरीबी दूर करने के लिए जवाहर रोजगार योजना के अंतर्गत आपने 1993-94 के बजट के बजाय... (व्यवधान)

**श्री कलाश नारायण सारंग :** आपसे नहीं हटी तो इमीलिए गरीबी हटाने के लिए विदेशियों को ला रहे हैं। आपसे नहीं हटी 50-15 वर्षों में।

**उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :** बीच में हस्तक्षेप न करें।

**श्री मूलचन्द्र मीणा :** यह उद्देश्य रहा है कि इस देश की आर्थिक स्थिति को मजबूत करने के लिए जो भी कदम उठाए जाएं, इस मामले में वे या तो विदेशी कम्पनियों का नाम लेने हैं या विश्व बैंक का नाम लेने हैं। यह जो

बजट पेश किया है इसके बारे में कई लोग तो यह कहते हैं कि यह विश्व बैंक के दबाव में आकर ऐसा बजट पेश किया गया है। ... (व्यवधान)

**श्री कलाश नारायण सारंग :** सही कहते हैं।

**श्री मूलचन्द्र मीणा :** और वे कहते हैं कि विदेशी कम्पनियों को न्यौता दे रहे हैं। मैं यह पूछना चाहता हूँ कि चाहे विदेशी कम्पनियों को यहां आने की छूट दी गई है, इस छूट से क्या हिन्दुस्तान का जो उत्पादन था उसकी क्वालिटी में अंतर आया है? जो आज ये तीन माल पहले यहां के उद्योगों की जो क्वालिटी थी उसमें सुधार हुआ है। इस देश के लोगों को यह बांधकर नहीं रखना चाहते, क्योंकि, जब देश की आजादी और आर्थिक स्थिति की आजादी की लड़ाई लड़कर आप देश को आजाद कर सकते हैं तो इस देश को सुदृढ़ करने के लिए, इस देश में लोगों को अच्छा माल मिले अच्छी चीजें मिलें, उत्पादन अच्छा हो। जब यहां के उद्योग-पति, उद्योग उस क्वालिटी का सामान नहीं बना सकते, आज लोगों को सामान भी सस्ता उपलब्ध होगा, लोगों को अच्छी क्वालिटी का सामान उपलब्ध हो सकेगा। तीन माल के अंदर जितना सुधार किया गया, इस देश के उद्योगों का सुधार होगा, विदेशी कम्पनियां आएंगी, यहां के लोगों को लाभ मिलेगा। लेकिन हमका मतलब यह नहीं कि लोगों के बीच में जाकर कहें कि ईस्ट इंडिया कम्पनी आई था तथा उसके माध्यम से अंग्रेजों ने इस देश की सम्प्रभुता पर कब्जा कर लिया। आज आपके पास कहने के लिए यही है, हिन्दुस्तान की सम्प्रभुता के ऊपर विदेशी कम्पनियों को यहां आने के लिए जो निमंत्रण दे रहे हैं, यह छूट दी है, क्या इससे सम्प्रभुता का इनन होता है? लेकिन आप लोग तो पब्लिक के बीच में जाकर इस बात को कहते हैं।

साथ ही इस बजट के अंदर रक्षा के ऊपर ज्यादा प्रावधान रखा है, क्योंकि

[श्री मूलचन्द गिणा]

आज देश के सामने कई चुनौतियां हैं। पाकिस्तान मानव अधिकार आयोग के अंदर मुंह की खाने के बाद, यदि उसे फिर कभी मौका लगा तो इस देश की सीमाओं के ऊपर वह कभी भी वार कर सकता है। इसलिए आपने अपनी रक्षा को मजबूत करने के लिए जो व्यवस्था की है इस बजट में आर्थिक सहायता के रूप में इसके लिए मैं मंत्री महोदय को बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद देता हूँ। साथ ही उदासीकरण की नीति के परिणामस्वरूप आज हम देखते हैं इस देश के अंदर प्राइसेज बढ़ रही हैं। जो प्राइसेज दिन प्रतिदिन बढ़ रही थी उनको नियन्त्रित किया है, स्थिर किया है। देश में आपने कई अनुसूचित जाति, जनजाति पिछड़े वर्गों, दलित लोगों के लिए कल्याणकारी योजनाएं बनाई हैं उसके लिए जो बजट में प्रावधान किया है इससे देश के शेड्यूलड कास्ट्स, शेड्यूलड ट्राइब्स और ओबीसी लोग आपके बहुत-बहुत आभारी हैं। आपके इस बजट की बुराई करने के लिए कुछ भी कहें लेकिन इस बजट से बढ़िया बजट पिछले सालों में अभी तक पब्लिक के सामने नहीं आया मैं वित्त मंत्री जी का बहुत-बहुत धन्यवाद करता हूँ। (व्यवधान)

एक माननीय सदस्य : विदेशी . . .

श्री मूलचन्द गिणा : आपको तो हर चीज विदेशी लगती है। मुझे तो लगता है आप भी विदेशी हैं अंदर से।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) : वह समाप्त कर रहे हैं आपने बीच में छेड़ दिया। वित्त मंत्री जी भी उनकी बात सुन कर सिर हिला रहे थे।

श्री मूलचन्द गिणा : धन्यवाद देते हुए जो बजट मंत्री जी ने प्रस्तुत किया है मैं उसका समर्थन करता हूँ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, मैंने जो सुना इस बजट का गुणगान शासक पार्टी के लोगों से, तो

हमारी इच्छा हुई कि वित्त मंत्री जी से कहें कि 6 हजार करोड़ रुपये अगर बजट का घाटा है तो एक करोड़ और घाटा बढ़ा दीजिए और उसमें दो मानुमेंट्स जरूर बना दीजिए। एक मानुमेंट नेहरू जी की समाधि शांतिवन के पास, पब्लिक सेक्टर का एक कब्रगाह बना दीजिए और दूसरा गांधी जी की समाधि जहां पर है उसके पास मल्टी नेशनल कंपनियों के लिए एक स्वागत गेट वहां बना दीजिए। अगर हम 6 हजार करोड़ के घाटे की स्वीकृति देते हैं तो इसके साथ एक करोड़ और भी दे सकते हैं लेकिन ये दोनों मानुमेंट्स बना दीजिए। तब बजट का काम आपका पूरा हो जायेगा। मैं ऐसा क्यों कह रहा हूँ? मेरे कहने का मुख्य कारण यह है कि यह धारणा जो देश में फैल गई है पब्लिक सेक्टर के रहते देश का विकास नहीं हो सकता।

इसे आपने लगातार कई बजट के जरिये प्रचारित किया है, इसको हवा दी है। अगर्ने आप स्वयं पहले इस विचार के नहीं थे लेकिन आपने इस काम को किया है। अभी मैं यही कहना चाहूंगा कि चीन में जो प्रगति हुई, अभी हमारे स्वामीनाथन जी बोल रहे थे और आप भी चर्चा कर रहे थे, चीन की कम्युनिस्ट पार्टी ने यह तय कर लिया है, इनके लेटेस्ट डॉक्यूमेंट में है कि भन फार्म जो होगा इंडस्ट्री का, विकास का, वह पब्लिक सेक्टर के माध्यम से करेंगे। हमारे यहां यह पहले से ही तय था कि पब्लिक सेक्टर इकोनोमी की कमांडिंग हाइट्स पर होगा। मैं निश्चित रूप से समझ रहा हूँ कि अगले बजट में इसको आप नहीं कह सकेंगे कि इस देश में पब्लिक सेक्टर कमांडिंग हाइट्स पर है। वह नहीं रहेगा। सरकार पब्लिक सेक्टर की खिलाफत कर रही है और सरकार पब्लिक सेक्टर को मां है और सरकार यदि मां ही डायन हो जाय तो फिर बच्चा कैसे बचेगा? इसजिये यह बच्चे वाला नहीं है। दूसरी बात यह है कि यह पब्लिक सेक्टर को बेच लेते हैं और उससे जो रुपया आता है उसको प्राइवेट सेक्टर को दे देते हैं। उद्योगपतियों को आपने

पिछले साल 5,000 करोड़ रुपये की छूट दी और इस साल करीब 4800 करोड़ की छूट दी है और लगभग उतना ही रुपया पब्लिक सेक्टर के शेयर बेच कर तीन वर्षों के अन्दर आप बजट का घाटा पूरा कर लेते हैं। अगर डिमिशन-वेस्टमेंट से आप करते, कोई नया उद्योग खोलते, सभी पूंजी लगाते तो मुझे उतना एतराज नहीं होता। मैं कम्युनिस्ट होंगे हुये भी यह कह रहा हू कि डिमिशनवेस्टमेंट कर के अगर नया उद्योग खोलते तो मुझ को उतना एतराज नहीं होता लेकिन उस पैसे को आप पूंजीपतियों को दे देते हैं और पब्लिक सेक्टर को सभाप्त करते हैं। इसीलिये मैंने आपसे कहा कि आप पब्लिक सेक्टर का कंत्राह बना दीजिये, नेहरू जी की सर्वाधिके निकट, लोग समझ जायेंगे कि आपने यह रास्ता तय कर लिया है।

उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, समाज में ऐसा भी होता है कि एक ऐसा अच्छा पिता होता है जो काफी धन अर्जित करता है, समाज में प्रतिष्ठा कायम करता है। उसके यहां एक ऐसा कुपुत्र जन्म लेता है जो एक दो साल में ही सब कुछ बेच कर खा जाता है। पिता की प्रतिष्ठा को बरबाद कर देता है। आपकी सरकार भी योग्य पिता के अयोग्य पुत्र की तरह है जो सब कुछ बेच बेच कर खा रही है। कुछ ही दिनों के बाद आपके पास बचने के लिये भी कुछ नहीं रहेगा और आप मुफलिस होकर चारों तरफ घूमते रहेंगे। तब कहियेगा प्राइवेट सेक्टर बहुत बेईमानी करता है, हम लोग उन पर सख्ती करेंगे। आप यह जो बजट बना कर देते हैं हम लोग खुशी से या नाराजगी से उसको पास कर लेते हैं। आप जो टेक्स रिलीफ देते हैं वह उपभोक्ता के लिये ट्रान्सफर नहीं होते हैं। कनविनियेंटली वित्त मंत्री जी बोलते भी नहीं है कि कुछ बदमाश लोग हैं जो हमारी बात को मानते नहीं हैं। (व्यवधान)

श्री जगेश देस ई : कहा है (व्यवधान)

श्री सीरोन भट्टाचार्य (पश्चिमी बंगाल) : अभी भी पेंसिल हाथ में है... (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : इस बार नहीं कहा है। (व्यवधान) आप भूल कर रहे हैं (व्यवधान) आप फिर कहेंगे कि हम प्राइस कंट्रोल करेंगे। सुनिये, आज तक कोई वित्त मंत्री ऐसा नहीं हुआ है जिसने यह कहा हो कि प्राइस राइज हम ट्रोल नहीं करेंगे? आप कोई नये आदमी नहीं हैं। आज अगर कोई यह कहे कि प्राइज राइज नहीं होगा तो हम लोगों की बात पर अब कौन विश्वास करेगा? (व्यवधान)

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथुर (उत्तर प्रदेश) : आपने जेतावनी देकर उनकी जिम्मेदारी को खत्म कर दिया है। यह कइते हैं कि कुछ बदमाश नहीं करते हम लोग ठीक कर रहे हैं, आपने तो रास्ता खोल दिया है (व्यवधान)

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : इनका रास्ता तो पहले से ही खुला हुआ है। हम लोग नहीं खोलते हैं। बहुत से गेट हैं। आप समझते हैं जैसे एक गेट ही है क्या? बहुत से गेट हैं मैं आपसे कह रहा था कि सरकार का यह विहेवियर राजकीय क्षेत्र विरोधी का जो है, इसके चलते, इसी बजट में आप देख लीजिये कि किस तरह का प्रावधान किया गया है। भारी उद्योगों के लिये पिछले रिवाइज्ड बजट में 648 करोड़ थे इस बार इन्होंने इसको घटा कर 368 करोड़ रुपये किया है। राजकीय कोष से कर्ज वगैरह दिया जाता है उसके लिये पिछले बजट में रिवाइज्ड 780 करोड़ दिया गया था और अभी 637 करोड़ है। दोनों को घटा दिया। यह जो माईस है उसमें पहले देते थे 364 करोड़, इस बार इन्होंने 331 करोड़ दिया है। हमारे पास यह पत्रोत्तर है इंडस्ट्रीज मिनिस्टर का उसमें दिया हुआ है कि हैवी इंडस्ट्रीज के अन्दर जो 18 पब्लिक सेक्टर का यूनिट्स है उसमें चूक केन्द्रीय सरकार ने उनको वकिंग कैपिटल नहीं दिया, उपसमाध्यक्ष महोदय, इसको सुन लीजिये सरकार की कर्मचारियों को बैठा कर तनख्वाह देना इनको मंजूर है। काम मत करो, वहां बैठे रहो, कह दिये कि तनख्वाह भी दे देते हैं, सेलरी भी दे देते हैं। और चीज भी दे देते हैं, लेकिन वकिंग कैपिटल जब मांगा जाता है तब नहीं देते हैं। हमारे

पास यह चिट्ठो मौजूद है। मैं सिर्फ एक का आपको सुना देता हूँ हैवी इजीनियरिंग कारपोरेशन आफ इंडिया का। उसने 66 कोड़ का बर्किंग कैपिटल मांगा इन्होंने उसको 11.37 करोड़ कर दिया। उस कम्पनी का उत्पादन घाटा इसलिये 122 करोड़ का हुआ है। हमारे पास हैं एक-एक करके ऐसे कारखानों की सूची है। हमारा ख्याल है, वित्त मंत्री की इस पालसी के चलते सालाना उत्पादन की क्षति सारे देश में नीयर एब्राउट 10 हजार करोड़ की हो रही है और बैठा करके यह तनख्वाह देते हैं। मैं बहुत हेसे उदाहरण दे सकता हूँ। फटिलाइजर। वदश से मगाते हैं लेकिन हमारे यहां ब्रौनी का फटिलाइजर प्लांट है। मुफ्त में बैठा करके तनख्वाह देते हैं लेकिन उतपदन जिसते होगा वह नहीं देते हैं। इनके मातहत में हमने भीटिंग भी की, हमने बहुत कोशिश भी की, लेकिन सब बात इनकी भी नहीं चलती है, यह बात भी ठीक है, इसलिये इस तरह का काम किया जा रहा है। तो मुख्य बात, पहली बात तो हम कहना चाहते थे कि पब्लिक सेक्टर के प्रति जो आपकी एंटी पब्लिक सेक्टर पालिसी है, बोलते नहीं हैं, लेकिन करते जो हैं, वह देश के हित पर बहुत ही आघात करता है, राष्ट्र के हित पर आघात करता है, और जब आप इसको बर्बाद कर देंगे तो हमारे पास कुछ बचेगा भी नहीं कि हम कुछ सुधार कर सकें। इसलिये हमने पहली बात यह की है। दूसरी बात हम कहना चाहते हैं कि इनके बजट का एक केन्द्रीय प्वाइंट है टैक्स रिलीफ जो इन्होंने उद्योगपतियों को दिया है, पिछली बार भी एसा ही टैक्स रिलीफ दिया गया था, वह फेल कर दिया। भारी छूट के बाद भी औद्योगिक विकास क दर में कोई खास प्रगति नहीं हुई। हुआ पर कि अपने देश में जो हो रहा है इन्होंने खुद कहा है कि कपिटल गुडस का उत्पादन होना चाहिये वह नहीं हो सका। इसलिये बहुत रोये भी हैं अपने भाषण में कुछ पब्लिक सेक्टर के बारे में शोक-श्रद्धांजलि भी इन्होंने प्रकट की है कैपिटल गुडज के बारे में, तो हम यह कहते हैं कि शोक-श्रद्धांजलि किस लिये कह रहे हैं? रास्ता आपने बदल दिया अब यह देश नेहरू और गांधी जी के रास्ते पर एक इंडीपेंडेंट इंडस्ट्रियल कंट्री नहीं होगा, अब यह एक ब्रांच प्लांट इकोनोमी

इंडिया होगी, जो मशीन-निर्माण और विदेशियों के ब्रांच प्लांट का काम करेगा। हम उनका इन्ट्रमेंटस और दूसरा स्पेयर पार्ट्स बनाकर देंगे। इससे औद्योगिक विकास रेट भी ठीक हो जायेगा, आपको बता देते हैं, उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, ब्रांच प्लांट इकोनोमी में यह होगा। अभी से कज्यूमर गुडस का प्रोडक्शन 15 परसेंट ज्यादा हो गया तो कौन पकड़गा कि किसका ज्यादा हुआ, किसका नहीं हुआ? इसलिये एक तरह का डी-इंडस्ट्रियलाइजेशन इस देश का होगा और ब्रांच इकोनोमी का सृजजन होगा। यह इनके कामों का परिणाम होना जा रहा है। तब भी मैं यह चाहुंगा कि मैं उनकी इस चिंता के साथ हूँ कि औद्योगिक प्रगति बढ़ाने के लिये कोई ठोस कदम उठाये जायें। उसके बारे में हम कहना चाहेंगे कि आप गलती कर रहे हैं। इसको हम इसलिये दोहराना चाहते हैं कि कुछ दुनिया का भी अनुभव हुआ है और कुछ अपने देश का भी। दुनिया में एक भारी रिसेशन है जिसको लेकर काफी लोग तबाह हैं और फिर भी हम यह नहीं कहते हैं कि आप एक्सपोर्ट नहीं करें, आप कीजिये जितना कर सकें। लेकिन मुख्यतः अपने देश के बाजार पर निर्भर रहने या उससे विस्तृत करने की बात मत छोड़िये। हम यह नहीं कह रहे हैं कि एक्सपोर्ट मत कीजिये, जितनी आपकी क्षमता हो कीजिये। मैं उस पक्ष में हूँ कि आप करें, लेकिन हम चाहते हैं कि अपने देश के बाजार या क्रय शक्ति को आप विस्तृत कीजिये। निर्यात बढ़ाने में उद्योग को भारी समय लंगता है, कोई भी इडस्ट्री बनाने के लिये 4-5 वर्ष का समय लगता है, लेकिन खेती में अगर इसी साल सिंचाई हो जाय तो अगले साल से उपज होने लगेगी और इन्फ्लेशनरी दबाव भी उसका नहीं होता है। इसलिये कृषि निर्यात को भारी संभावना है। इस साल भी 6000 करोड़ कृषि निर्यात से आया है। हर किस्म की मौसम अपने देश में है। इसलिये हर किस्म का फल, सब्जी, अन्न, मसाला, जड़ी बूटी आदि निर्यात के लिये उपलब्ध हैं।

आपने डंकल प्रस्ताव पर राजीनामा कर दिया है।

अब खेती का क्या होगा? आप सभी जानते हैं कि डंकल की रेटिकेशन

पर भी कृषि होगी, दम्नधन तो ही जाएगा। हम लोग तो विरोध कर रहे हैं, जिसको डंकल प्रपोजल कहते हैं प्रभी तक, जब अब गाट प्रपोजल हो गया हल्ला गुल्ला हम लोग करोगे, लेकिन यह दम्नधन कर ही देंगे। . . . (व्यवधान)

में यह कहना है कि जो डंकल प्रपोजल साइन करना है क्या उसके लिए यह उचित है कि वायो-टेक्नोलोजी में जो पिछले बजट में 85 करोड़ रखा था अब उसे 87 करोड़ ही रखे ? यह 2 करोड़ के बढ़ाने में क्या विदेशी टेक्नोलोजी को जो बाढ़ आने वाली है उसका मुकाबला हम कर सकेंगे ? . . . (व्यवधान) . . . यह हास्यास्पद है।

**श्री जगेश देसाई :** : अच्छी अच्छी बात भी करिए, न। कोई अच्छी बात बताइए, न।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** : हा तो सब बता देंगे। अच्छा, जगेश देसाई जी, सिंचाई क्या ग्रामीण विकास में नहीं आता है ? अगर नहीं आता है तो क्या पॉलि-मेट में बाढ़ आएगी। हम तो गांव की बात करने हैं। कृषि, अनुसंधान और शिक्षा में आपने कितना बढ़ाया है ? क्या आप मुकाबला करेंगे फारेन मल्टी-नेशनल कंपनी से ? केवल 25 करोड़ रुपया आपने कृषि और अनुसंधान शिक्षा पर दिया है। जब आप भाषण कर रहे थे और कहा कि सरचार्ज लगाएंगे रायल्टी पर, तो हमने खुशी जाहिर की कि इससे कुछ मिलेगा, लेकिन जो धन मिलेगा, उससे क्या होगा ? एक मोलिवभूल के बनाने में 200 करोड़-300 करोड़ रुपया लगेगा और आप देते नहीं हैं पैसा। आपको फिर यह है कि कारपोरेट सैक्टर का टैक्स कैसे घटा दें। उस पर आप ज्यादा चिन्तित हैं। यह चिन्तित नहीं है कि कालाहान्डी में लोग भूखों मर जाते हैं, पहले हम उसको कुछ दे दें। अब वह गांव में मरा था, जगेश जी, शहर में नहीं। कालाहान्डी में कहां मरा था ? आपको इसकी तो चिन्ता नहीं है। इसलिए हम आपको कहना चाहते हैं कि अगर कारपोरेट टैक्स में पांच परसेंट इस

गाल हम लोग नहीं घटाते यानी 45 परसेंट ही रखते तो आसमान नहीं गिर जाता, लेकिन अनुसंधान और आर. एंड डी. में अगर ज्यादा देते तो हम समझते कि आप डंकल में या मल्टीनेशनल कंपनी में लड़ने के लिए एक सुदृढ़ता प्रदान कर रहे हैं। "

खेती के प्रति इनका जो दृष्टिकोण जो है बावजूद उनके भाषण के वह अत्यंत ही एण्टी-फार्मर्स है, एण्टी-एग्रीकल्चर है। पहली बात इसमें यह है कि जो मनुष्य के शरीर में खून का महत्व है, वही महत्व सिंचाई का खेती के लिए है। इनके बजट में पिछले कई वर्षों से क्या हा रहा था कि लगभग हाफ मिलियन हेक्टेयर हरेक साल एरोगेटेड एरिया की बहुत ही बर्दा होती थी, सिंचित एरिया बढ़ जाता था, लेकिन इस साल घट गया है। पिछले बजट में 3 लाख हेक्टेयर था, जो इस साल बजट में 2.4 लाख हेक्टेयर रह गया है। इस तरह यह घटता जा रहा है। यह कृषि विरोधी नीति है। जिसके चलते ऐसा हो रहा है।

उपाध्यक्ष महोदय, खेती में आप जानते हैं, सिंचाई और बाढ़ का क्या महत्व होता है। पिछले साल इन्होंने इसमें दिया था 280 करोड़ और अभी इस बजट में दिया है 261 करोड़। अब आप ही बताइए क्या ऐसा समझें कि बाढ़ इस साल नहीं आएगी। क्योंकि प्रधान मंत्री बहुत अच्छे आदमी हैं और वित्त मंत्री बहुत अच्छे आदमी हैं, ऐसा बात समझ जाएगी और कहेगी कि वह इस साल नहीं आएगी। अगर ऐसी बात हो तो हम समझ जाएं। वित्त मंत्री असम से आते हैं जहां सबसे ज्यादा बाढ़ आती है। मैं तो वित्त मंत्री को बाढ़ ग्रस्त असम में स्थायी नागरिक बनाना चाहता हूँ। क्योंकि वैसे ही इलैक्शन कमिश्नर बेताल चला आया है, वह हटाता है तो हमारा यह कसूर नहीं है . . . (व्यवधान)

**SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM:**  
If there are floods, the Finance Minister and the Prime Minister will be the first to drown because they are short.

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA :** I Can't say that. I wish a long and happy life to them. I only want them to be good citizens of Assam.

**उपसमाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :** नहीं, नहीं चतुरानन मिश्र जी, वित्त मंत्री जी बाढ़ वाले इलाके से ही आते हैं, असम से। असम में बहुत बाढ़ है।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** हम तो यही कह रहे हैं। हम यही कहना चाहते थे कि असम के गुड सिटिजन हैं। हम तो कह रहे हैं और हम उस बेटाल के खिलाफ हैं तो सिवा बेटालिज्म के, और चीजों में तो हम उसके पक्षधर हैं, लेकिन बेटालिज्म के खिलाफ हैं। लेकिन, आप बताइए कि क्या यह असम की मदद है कि गत 280 करोड़ के इस मद से बजट में घटाकर 261 करोड़ कर दिया जाए।

उसी तरह पशु पालन में अभी बहुत ज्यादा आंदोलन होता है बैकवर्ड का। आप जानते हैं ही होंगे कि कौन लोग सबसे ज्यादा पशु पालन करते हैं। कम से कम उनको भी खुश करने के लिए सिर्फ उार से ही मिनिस्टर चुनते हैं उसी जाति-समुदाय का, वह अच्छा नहीं है। पशु पालन के लिए पहले 348 करोड़ था और अभी इन्होंने 325 करोड़ दिया है। तो हम आपको बताना चाहेंगे कि जो किसान विरोधी रुख है, इसकी चर्चा हम इसलिए कर रहे हैं कि आपने वित्त मंत्री जी बहुत अच्छा काम किया है कि आपने 1.4 विलियन डालर का कर्जा चुकाया है, अगर हमारी स्मरण शक्ति ठीक है, जो आपने किया है। हमने आपको पहले भी कहा था कि विदेशी ऋण चुकता कर प्लान बना लीजिए। विदेशी कर्जा चुकाइए, बहुत अच्छा काम है। वह टाइम के पहले चुका दिया, तो वह भी अच्छा काम किया है। वैसे पहले किसको चुकाना चाहिए था? तो हमसे तो पूछते फाईनेंसियल दृष्टिकोण से। तब तो कामर्शियल कर्जा चुकाते क्योंकि उसका इंटरैस्ट

ज्यादा होता है। लेकिन आपको इलैक्शन जीतना है इसलिए यह सब काम करना चाहिए। ठीक है, आप भी करते हैं, हम भी करते हैं, कोई एतराज नहीं है अगर छोटी चीज से थोड़ा बहुत राष्ट्र को घाटा भी हो। आप अपना इलैक्शन प्रोपॉगंडा कर लीजिए। हम आपको रोकने के लिए नहीं जा रहे हैं। लेकिन फाईनेंसियल ली यह होता कि जिसका इंटरैस्ट ज्यादा था उसको हम पहले चुकाते।

**श्री जगज देसाई :** उन्होंने वहाँ किया है।

**श्री चतुरानन मिश्र :** ठीक है, हम जो कह रहे हैं वह ठीक है। अगर आप कर रहे हैं तो बहुत अच्छी बात है। हमने तो कहा कि वह आपने अच्छा काम किया। लेकिन इस कर्जा को चुकाव में किसने मदद ली आपकी? किसानों आतको हम बताना चाहते हैं कि आजादी के आंदोलन में भी किसानों ने ही भारी हिस्स लिया, देश को अन्न के मामण में भी किसानों ने परिपूर्ण किया और इस विदेशी कर्जा से अगर कोई मुक्ति करा सकता है तो किसान ही मुक्ति करा सकता है। इन्डस्ट्री को आप छुट दे सकते हैं, आप छुट दे रहे हैं। लेकिन आपको रिपेमेंट नहीं मिलता है। रिपेमेंट करेगा किसान समुदाय और उसकी आप उन्धेका कर रहे हैं। इसलिए कर्ज चुकाने में आपको बहुत वकन लग जाएगा, यह हम आपको कहना चाहते हैं।

एक दूसरा विषय है जिसकी हम आपसे चर्चा करना चाहेंगे। वह है जिसके बारे में हमारे मित्र स्वामीनाथन जी जो सरकार के सपोर्टर हैं, तब भी उन्होंने अच्छा कहा कि स्टेट फाईनेंस को बड़ा ही डिस-लोकेशन हो रहा है और शायद हमारे फाईनेंस मिनिस्टर इस बात को नहीं समझ पा रहे हैं कि क्या दिक्कत है। हम आपसे इस सदन में स्पष्ट ढंग से कहना चाहते हैं कि अगर यह नीति रह गई स्टेट के वित्त के बारे में, तो अभी तो आपके छोटे-छोटे स्टेट में बगावत होता था, कश्मीर में हो जाता था, नालाँड में

होता था, अब जो बड़े स्टेट हैं—जैसे बिहार है, यू. पी. है, आंध्र है, यह बेल्ट जो है—उड़ीसा का है, मध्य प्रदेश का है, यह सारा एरिया गिग पावरटी जोन है। इसमें अब बगावत होगा। अभी तो आप अनुसंधान में तो दो करोड़ रुपया देते हैं और पुलिस के लिए आपने चार सौ करोड़ रुपया दिया है। आपका चाणस पुलिस और आर. एण्ड डी. के बीच में पुलिस ज्यादा है। अगर ग्री भी रुपया है तो सरकार को दे दीजिएगा, क्योंकि बहुत बड़े क्षेत्र में बगावत होने जा रही है। अभी फाइनेंस कमीशन ने एक असेसमेंट किया जिसके मुताबिक अगले पांच वर्षों में दो लाख करोड़ रुपया की तमाम स्टेट की जरूरत है, जिसमें वे सवा लाख करोड़ रुपया जो डिवॉल्यूशन फंड का होगा। करीब-करीब 75 हजार करोड़ रुपया का उनका घाटा है। यह डैफिसिट आप बढ़ा देते हैं जब-जब आप प्राइसेज बढ़ाते हैं डाइरेक्ट उन पर असर होता है। यह दान नहीं है, जैसा कि स्वामीनाथान जी बोले कि सिर्फ पब्लिक के सैक्टर के दाम बढ़ाने से राज्यों का बजट अस्त-व्यस्त होता है। प्राइवेट सैक्टर भी अगर दाम बढ़ाएगा तो स्टेट फाइनेंस का उनका ही अफैक्ट करेगा जितना पब्लिक सैक्टर से होता है। चूंकि पब्लिक सैक्टर पर आप बोल सकते हैं, दूसरे पर नहीं बोल सकते हैं। कल अगर प्राइवेट सैक्टर को फटलाइजर दे दिया जाएगा और उसका दाम बढ़ा देगा तो

I think our friend, Mr. Swaminathan, would not protest against it because it comes from the golden hands of the private sector.

मामला अभी लेकिन पब्लिक सैक्टर का है इसलिए हम इसकी आलोचना कर रहे हैं। यह क्या है कि स्टेट प्लान को भी आपने बजट में घटा दिया। स्टेट प्लान में 1993-94 का जो रिवाइज्ड बजट था उसमें दस हजार दो सौ बासठ करोड़ रुपये का ह्रासा था, इस बजट में नौ हजार आठ सौ पन्द्रह करोड़ रुपए का है। न्द्रीय ग्रांट में पहले 2381 करोड़ पया

था, अभी 2334 करोड़ रुपए का दिया गया है।

यह हम इस बात को कहना चाहते हैं कि माउवेंट सिस्टम या टैक्स रिफार्म करते हैं तो हम पसन्द करते हैं।

When you simplify the tax structure, I appreciate those measures, लेकिन इनका जो अफैक्ट पड़ेगा स्टेट फाइनेंसपर which you have never considered, never looked into.

**SRRI JAGESH DESAI:** You have not taken what was provided in the budget, you have taken the revised figures.

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:** I have taken one revised figure and the other as proposed.

**SHRI JAGESH DESAI:** Revised estimates can be increased also. You compare that with what was given in the Budget. (Interruptions). What I wanted to point out is that it may again go up, as it went up last year.

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:** I can count only those citizens who are born. Those who are not born cannot be part of the census. So, if something good is coming, I will be happy.

अन दान चाइल्ड जिसने जन्म ही नहीं लिया उसको हम कैसे वोटर लिस्ट में रखें... (व्यवधान)... हम कह रहे हैं आप बड़ा दीजिए। आई एम रेडी इसको बड़ा दीजिए हमें बहुत खुशी होगी।

प्राइस राइज को आप देख लीजिए। वित्त मंत्री जी कहेंगे प्राइज राइज मेरे जिम्मे नहीं है। इनका काम तो भीमा का जैसा है। आप जानते हैं महाभारत की कहानी। भीम खाता था, शकुनी दूसरा काम करता था वित्त मंत्री तो यह भीम है। कहते हैं प्राइज बढ़ा देंगे और फिर कहेंगे पुत्र एण्टनी साहब को कि आप प्राइज कंट्रोल करिए।

SHRI JAGESH DESAI: But he is a victim.

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: That you can say. If I say that, you will say that the Opposition is saying that.

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) : मिश्र जी समय का ख्याल रखिए ।

श्री चतुरानन मिश्र : बहुत संक्षेप में कह रहा हूँ । मैं आपसे पूछना चाहता हूँ । हमारे गोदाम में जो पिछले वर्षों में चीनी जमा थी, पिछले वर्ष पहले जो गेहूँ जमा थे चावल जमा थे, उसमें कान-सी कास्ट बढ़ गई थी कि आपने दाम बढ़ा दिए सब के एक साथ । आई कैन अडर-स्टेड जो जमा उत्पादन होगा उसमें नए प्राइज देगे तो ठीक है । जब 10 मिलियन से ज्यादा का स्टॉक हमारा पुराना है तो उसके दाम आप कैसे बढ़ा देंगे हन को बता दीजिए । आप कह देंगे कि हमने किसान को यह दे दिया, वह दे दिया तो यह आगे से लागू होगा जब से आप देंगे, पीछे से नहीं । जब चीनी के दाम बढ़ाने लगे तो छोआ को, मोलासिस को पीडी-कंट्रोल कर दिया, था उसका ध्यान नहीं किवा । मोलासिस आता है सूगरकेन से । गन्ने से आता है । अगर मोलासिस के दाम ज्यादा हो गए थे तो चीनी के मूल्य निर्धारण में उसका लेखा करना चाहिए था । जिसे आपने नहीं किया । उपसभापति जी आपने स य की बात कही इसलिए मैं शार्ट में कहना चाहता हूँ ।

एक और बात की चर्चा करना चाहूंगा । बेरोजगारी इस देश में रहेगी । दुनिया में सब कह रहे हैं और हमारे स्वामीनाथन जी न भी कहा है

There were some mad people called Communists, who only proclaimed that jobs should be given to all the citizens, to all the people. These made people are gone. So, you are happy, but I think they are agains coming.

SHRI G. SWAMINATHAN: They have gone outside India, but many of them are here

SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA: First time they came by bullets. Second time they are coming back by ballons. This is the difference. You must be very unhappy, but I must tell you that this is happening in the world. You must have read the speech of the Prime Minister in DAVOS in the newspapers.

ज्यादा रोजगार लघु उद्योगों से आता है ।

मैं जिस बात की चर्चा करना चाहता था, वित्त मंत्री जी आपसे वह यह है कि हमारे यहां लघु उद्योग है । उनकी लगातार शिकायतें आ रही हैं । बहुत से माननीय सदस्यों ने इसकी चर्चा भी की । आप इसको रिकसीडर करके कम से कम उस बकरे की हत्या मत कीजिए, जो बराबार हो रही है । आज हमारे माननीय सदस्य किबरना जी बोले । यह बात आई कि विदेशी कम्पनियों का नाम ही बदल दिया गया और हमको पता नहीं चता । आपका नाम क्या होगा मन मोहन सिंह ही रहेगा या मैकमिलन सिंह नाम रहे ग या दोनों मिलाकर कोई नाम रखा जायेगा, हम नहीं जानते । लेकिन

Some brand names are going away. Something like that is happenng.

वह आपकी दया पर है । आपको पसन्द है, हम क्या कर सकते हैं । मैज्योरिटी आपके साथ है । आप अपनी भैंसा को कुल्हाड़ी से नाथियेगा, तो हम क्या कर सकते हैं । मैज्योरिटी हमारे पास तो एक ही रेमिडी हैं कि पब्लिक को जाकर कहेंगे, आप कि गलत काम हो रहा है ।

सरकार मनमोहन सिंह जी अच्छा नाम है, मैकमिलन सिंह कोई अच्छा नाम नहीं है । वही रहना चाहिये, यही हम आपको कहेंगे । (स्यबधान)

श्री मन मोहन सिंह : आपकी स्लेप पार्टी की पांच सीटें आई हैं, सारे देश में ।

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:**

Yes, we have got a setback—I don't hesitate to say this. When casteism and communalism are on the rise, it is bound to have a bad effect on communalism. I accept it. But I tell you, we shall revive and come up, and that day, perhaps; you may be happy; those you are sorry now.

हम जिस बात की चर्चा करना चाहते थे, एक बात का स्पष्टीकरण हो जाये। वह है एग्जिट पालिसी के बारे में। पहल तो आपने भी बहुत जोर दिया था, अब हमको लग रहा है कि एग्जिट पालिसी पर सरकार ने रिविजिंग किया है। यह हमारी रीडिंग है। कुछ प्रधानमंत्री जी ने भी ऐसा कह दिया है। अभी पटना में आल इण्डिया ट्रेड यूनियन काँग्रेस का अधिवेशन हुआ था, जिसके चलते इस सदन में से मैं 15 रोज एक्सपोर्ट था था वहाँ हमारे लेबर मिनिस्टर श्री संगमा ने भी कहा (व्यवधान) खुले आम कहा कि वह दीजिए कि एग्जिट पालिसी पर कि हम किसी को हटाना नहीं चाहते हैं। उन्होंने तो यहाँ तक कह दिया कि सिवाय 14 के जिनको मर्ज करने की बात हो रही है, किसी पब्लिक सेक्टर को हम बन्द नहीं करेंगे। आप कह दीजिये कि सरप्लस है, हम ट्रेड यूनियंस से संबंधित है सरप्लस तो होगा ही। जैमे, जैमे न्यू टेक्नोलोजी आएगी, तो surplus is bound to be there

न आपके हाथ में है और न हमारे हाथ में है। हम जिस बात को कहते हैं, वह है

Modernisation be accompanied by expansion—

इसकी बहुत बड़ी गुंजाइस हमारे देश में है। इसलिए मैं कुछ सुझावों को आपके सामने रखना चाहता हूँ। आपकी इस नीति के चलते

Coal India is going to Collapse.

उसमें कम-कम 30 हजार मजदूर रिट्रेच होने लगे हैं। यह देखने देखा होगा कि जो विदेश का कोयला है,

यह सस्ता पड़ जायेगा। इमाल्टे कोल इण्डिया कोलेप्स कर जाएगा। यह रेलवे के वाद मंत्र से बड़ा लेबर इन्फ्लेक्शन करने वाला सेक्टर है।

दूसरी बात, हम फिर यहाँ दोहराना चाहते हैं। हमने इस बात को प्रि-बजट डिमिशन के समय थापसे कहा था कि रेट आफ इन्ट्रस्ट आपको घटाना अनिवार्य हो गया है। इनवैस्टमेंट के लिए घटाइये लेकिन प्रेफेरेन्स दीजिये स्टील, कोल, पावर, रेलवे और फर्टिलाइजर को। विदेशों के लोग 6 परसेंट पर रखते हैं। यहाँ आप लोग 14 परसेंट इन्ट्रस्ट रेट रखते हैं। यह तो आप चूहे को खड़ा कर देते हैं और हाथी से कहते हैं कि भिड़ जाओ, क्या कभी चूहा हाथी से लड़ सकता है? आप अपना रेट आफ इन्ट्रस्ट वही कर दीजिये, पब्लिक सेक्टर के लिये भी इक्विलेंट रखिए, तभी बात बन सकती है। दश में प्राइस राटज नहीं हो, इसलिये हमने इन पांच उद्योगों स्टील, कोल, पावर, रेलवे और फर्टिलाइजर का नाम लिया। इनके लिये आप रेट आफ इन्ट्रस्ट घटा दीजिए। दूसरा, हम यह चाहेंगे कि जो आपकी सर्टेन ब्लाक्स के लिए 200 डेज के एण्योड जांब की योजना है, उसको आप सभी प्रखण्डों के लिए एक्सटेंड कर दीजिये। यदि उनके पास पैसे होंगे, तो अपने आप इण्डस्ट्रीयलाइजेशन होने लगेगा, इण्डस्ट्री पिक-अप करेगी आपने जो पब्लिक डिस्ट्रिब्यूशन सिस्टम को रिर्वीव करने की बात कही है। आदिवासी और ट्राइबल एरियाज के लिए तो आप कर ही रहे हैं मेरा सुझाव यह है कि आप इसको सारे देश में लागू कीजिये। प्राइस राटज तो होगा ही, चाहे हम कितना भी भाषण दे या आप भाषण दें या कोई भी दें। यह तो चलेगा ही। मैं एक सुझाव पुनः आपको दे देता हूँ कि सरल पटिकुलरली एग्नीक्लरल लेबर का जहाँ तक संबंध है, हमने यह कहा था कि फूड कारपोरेशन जितना माल खरीदता है, ट्रांजैक्ट करता है, उस पर आप दो प्रतिशत की दर से सेस लगा दीजिये। आपने किसानों के लिए करीब करीब 40 प्रतिशत दाम

बढ़ाए हैं। यदि आप दो प्रतिशत सेस लगा देते हैं, तो इससे देश का कोई भी प्रादमी बहुत बड़ा हल्ला नहीं करेगा। यह एक बेलकॉयर फण्ड हो जाएगा, जिससे उनकी पेंशन की स्कीम भी चलाई जा सकेगी। हमने थोड़ा सा रफ केलकुलेशन किया है।

आपका भी फायदा हो जाएगा अगर पहले कह दीजियेगा। दूसरा हम चाहेंगे कि यह देश बड़ा है, तुलना हो आप कोरिया से, सिंगापुर से कर देते हैं लेकिन यहां जो फूडग्रेन चलता है अमृतसर से और उसको अगर पहुंचना है मद्रास हो कम से कम चार सौ रुपए से ज्यादा पर टन भाड़ा बैठ जाता है। उसी तरह से अगर सीमेंट साउथ से चलता है और उसको नार्थ आना होता है तो करीब-करीब 14 परसेंट ट्रांसपोर्टेशन कास्ट हमारा हो जाता है। इस पर कोई कमेटी निश्चित रूप से बैठ करके कीजिए कि यह ट्रांसपोर्टेशन कास्ट हम कैसे घटाएं। देश को छोटा करने का तो आप कहीं मत प्रयास कीजिए उसके लिए तो दूसरे लोग मेहनत कर रहे हैं, लेकिन आप अपने इकनामिक के जरिए इस देश को छोटा करने की कोशिश मत कीजिए। इसलिए इसको हम कैसे टैकल करें देश तो हमारा ही रहेगा, कसे करें इसको आप कीजिए। दूसरा हम यह कहेंगे कि जब न्यू पालिसी ले रहे हैं हम ग्रामोण क्षेत्र में कुछ लोगों के पास धन जमा हो रहा है तो उसको आप सीधे टैक्स नहीं लगाइयेगा, क्योंकि वोट का डर आपको भी है, लेकिन कोई ऐसा मैथड तो इस्तेमाल कीजिए, आपको तो फाइनेंशियल बिजनेस कहा जाता है कि वह धन इस्तेमाल हो सके।  
... (व्यवधान) ...

**SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM:** That is the reason why he is thinking of imposing agricultural income-tax.

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:** I do not know what he is thinking of. You are between me and him.

दो मिनट अगर आप अर दीजिए तो हम आपसे इजाजत चाहेंगे। तो मैं यह कह रहा था कि इस पर आप सोजिए कि उतनी इन कैसे तैयार करें। एक सबसे बड़ी समस्या इस देश में अनयुटिलाइज्ड कैपेसिटी युटिलाइजेशन की है जिसके चलते भारी राष्ट्रीय घाटा होता है। नया यूनिट खोलने के लिए विदेशी ऋण लेते हैं लेकिन मौजूदा यूनिट का पूरा इस्तेमाल नहीं करते जिससे भारी राजस्व और राष्ट्रीय धन आ सकता है।

आखिर मैं एक बात कह देना चाहता हूँ। हमने बिहार की चर्चा किया जो बहुत दुर्दशाग्रस्त है वहां जितना जो प्राइम इंडस्ट्री था वह सब करी-करीब कोलैप्स करने के लिए जा रहा है। एक कोल बचा हुआ था इस बजट में आपने उसका भी रास्ता साफ कर दिया कि कोल इंडिया भी कोलैप्स कर जाएगा। तो हम यह चाहते हैं कि हमारे बिहार का जो यह विनाश के पथ पर गया उसका एक कारण है रेलवे फेट का इक्वलाइजेशन जो आपने किया था, जिसके चलते जो टाटा में स्टील या बोकारों में स्टील पैदा होता था वह कपअर टू पजाब और कपअर टू साउथ तमिलनाडु और एनीवेअर इन कट्री वह हमको बिहार में सौ, डेढ सौ रुपया प्रति टन महंगा पड़ जाता था।... (व्यवधान)...

**श्री जगेश देसाई :** वह तो कर दिया  
..... (व्यवधान) ..

**SHRI CHATURANAN MISHRA:** You have finished it. I want that you introduce some special fund for us to compensate for that period. It was a considerable period of more than 15 years, of two decades. So, kindly look into the case of Bihar. If Bihar goes, you will not be able to check it. That is why I warn you to check it. I hope you will do something on what I told you. Thank you.

**SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA (Punjab):** I rise to welcome and support the Budget. Not only this Budget, but all the previous Budgets presented for the last four years were historic Budgets and they presented great opportunities

to entrepreneurial Indians. It did not happen earlier. I wish it happened earlier. When this Government came to power in 1991, it was faced with a serious economic crisis. There was crisis on the balance of payments front, there was crisis in terms of inflationary pressures and price rises, fiscal deficits etc and the general growth rate was declining. But under this leadership of our Prime Minister, Shri P. V. Narasimha Raoji and the hon. Finance Minister, Shri Manmohan Singh ji the Government took the right decision at right time that is why I called it a historic decision. The historic changes started in 1991 and they are still continuing. Before I really touch the historic changes that took place and the future direction where we hope to have a great prosperity for India, I want to mention here with a very heavy heart that a section of the House from right to left arrogantly assumed themselves, certified themselves as patriots and charged us that we were selling out to the World Bank, we were selling out to the IMF, we were selling out to the multinationals. Is it the way to judge the policy framework of this present Government or the performance of the Government or the achievements of the Government or the failures of the Government? It is shameful. I am aware that the gentleman from right to left began his career in one party, created a new party, switched over from Jan Sangh to Janata Party and I do not know how many parties he would join. Our Congress party has a history of 103 years. Our party has only one interest and that is Indian interest. We have no right interest or left interest. They are telling us that we were selling ourselves to foreigners and multinationals. I recall what our Prime Minister has said in Davos and London recently. He has set certain terms for inviting international investors to India. It is going to be our policy. He said that they may accept the terms or they may not accept. But

he said that we are going to follow a certain path. He also said that we would not copy wholesale the Western policy in this country. I would like to quote from the speech of the hon. Prime Minister which he delivered in London yesterday:

"Mr. Narasimha Rao reminded the world community that the resources of the earth were finite and quoted Mahatma Gandhi who said in 1931 that "Europeans themselves will have to remodel their outlook if they are not to perish under the weight of the comforts to which they are becoming slaves."

Mr. Rao said that India would never be able to catch up with the developed West and yet, "without indulging in this race, India can attain a level of development which brings general prosperity tailored to her needs and aspirations to the fullest extent. This is what we are working for."

[THE-VICE CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY) [In the Chair,]

My whole point is this arrogance of patriotism on their part should not be the framework of judging out new economic reforms and policies that are being pursued in this country. These have been started only 3-1/2 years back. Before I actually start my speech on the Budget, I have pointed out various problems that existed. One has to assess this Budget on the basis on which it has been formulated. They should see the thrust which the hon. Finance Minister had mentioned in his speech and see how we have succeeded and how we are going to do better in future. The thrusts are as follows. Firstly, he was aware, or, in fact, the whole nation was aware of our tax system. It was not only very cumbersome, prone to corruption in a big way, but gave room for evasion by tax-payers. This is first time the tax system has been modernised in respect of both direct and indirect taxes. This Budget has

tried to introduce, in a gradual fashion, the Value-Added Tax system, which has already been adopted by 70—74 countries in the world. The main focus in this is that there should not be a double tax or input tax. We are moving towards that. The second purpose is that the system should be equitable, progressive and vibrant. When the earnings are more, the tax should be more. Actually, in the last Budget also there was an attempt. But it was less in magnitude. But this time, a definite direction has been given. We did receive a lot of complaints because once you introduce this kind of tax, you have to widen your tax net. There are new small-scale industries that have come. It may create problems in the beginning. The small industry people who are not in the excise net are now afraid of facing corrupt excise officials. That is why there is a hue and cry. But, in the long run, probably, they would welcome it. They have not yet realised that this modern system of taxation would save more for them. Only today, in a private discussion the hon. Finance Minister told us that probably, there would be less litigation, litigation arising out of numerous exemptions, numerous classifications and so many other things. I can sympathize with Mr. Jethmalani, who is sitting there, that he will be losing some legal business in litigation. Actually this reform is going to be a remarkable achievement of the Budget.

The second thing is the fiscal deficit. It is true. The Minister of Finance has expressed unhappiness. But what is the choice? You want the rural development programmes to continue which need to be funded and rightly so. I am happy and I would like to compliment the Finance Minister that they have raised the allocation from Rs 5,000 crores

to Rs. 7,000 crores. It will really activate the rural economy. And there are other programmes to create one million jobs in the rural sector. Even the allocations to health and education will help generate human resource in the rural society. These are the features that you cannot lose sight of when you talk of fiscal deficit. When the Finance Minister was worried about the deficits earlier, while presenting his earlier Budgets, my friends from the Opposition said that he was working under the diktats of the IMF. Now they are asking for reduction of fiscal deficits. Are they really listening to the voice of the IMF Now? Dr. Ashok Mitra spoke about it to ask for reduction in large scale 4.00 deficit as such. So, my point is P.M. that this is going to stay unless we prepare our country to raise tax resources to feed our development programmes, to finance our development programmes. Then the thrust sector which, in fact, really shapes the Budget is the external sector, the foreign trade sector, and I am happy to state that during the last two-and-a-half years, the export performance has been excellent, has been beyond our expectation. This has happened due to the strategy adopted by the Government of India. Once we had the problem of foreign exchange. Now, we have a lot of options available to us to promote our growth.

Then the tax concessions which have been offered in the Budget have been offered not for the rich people, but for the corporate sector in order to speed up the recovery process. According to the Government of India, if forty per cent to forty-five per cent tax concessions are given to the corporate sector, then industrial recovery of six per cent to eight per cent is possible. At the moment, the recovery process is very slow. We are struggling between two per cent and two-and-a-half per cent industrial growth. In order to reach

the stage of six per cent to eight per cent of industrial recovery, these tax concessions have been given. Rs. 1,400 crores are given to the capital equipment industry. The problems of poverty and unemployment are very serious. Now, apart from what has been budgeted in terms of the rural development programmes, if you study the extent of creation of jobs both in the public and the private sector during the last decade, you will find that the number of jobs created in the private sector has been much more than the number of jobs created in the public sector. So, let the industry be given a chance to come in that respect. Now the prospects of industrial recovery are good and I would say that I am not worried on that count because of the assurance given by the Finance Minister. But if the pace of industrial recovery is slow, it could pose a problem. I have a few suggestions to make for the kind consideration of the Finance Minister. Everybody knows that there is a resource constraint existing at the moment. I would like to know whether it is possible to disinvest in the public sector for a particular purpose. The purpose is, we say that we are going to reduce or disinvest to the extent of 40 per cent. With the figures available, if you have an investment of something like Rs. 1,40,000 crores in the public sector and if you disinvest 40 per cent, you will collect about Rs. 60,000 crores or Rs. 70,000 crores. Now with this investment in your hand, if you have chosen to join hands with the private sector, that fund can be used for investment purposes which will increase the rate of industrial development in future. You could have collected Rs. 60,000 crores by disinvesting in the public sector. If you go and deliberately join hands with the private sector for strengthening the industry industrial recovery would be 15 to 16 per cent. I can imagine even more than 15 or 16 per cent. That is the major plea I would like to make. Please

consider this. Some people charge as that we are selling the public sector. Public sector investments are blocked. It is not yielding revenue or it is not generating jobs. It is not creating jobs. You pull out that money from the public sector and invest it somewhere else. We are not having proper infrastructure. Last time when I spoke on the Budget proposals, I gave the experience of my hometown. The people of that area had been asking for a railway line for the last 40 years. My grandfather represented, my father represented and I am now representing. For the last 40 years the railway line did not come up... (Interruptions)... It is not a question of power. It is a question basically of national resources. National resources are there but the Government has not given any aid. The Opposition Governments were in power in 1987 and 1989. The people represented to them also. They did not have the resources. If you do not have resources, are you going to deny us permanently saying "you do not deserve any railway line for the next hundred years"? You do not allow the multinationals or the private sector to lay railway lines in my area. I am not interested in railway itself. I am not interested in having these lines for myself as long as I am given cheaper railway facilities. If this is going to be your attitude, probably you will ruin national productivity. You will not create jobs. Now what you are doing is you are subsidising jobs, you are protecting jobs but you are not creating jobs. You will look into the interests of only a few lakhs of people you are not looking into the interests of millions and millions of people who are living in rural India who are going to join the national mainstream in the next few years. They will ask for employment. So you have to look at it from that angle. You should be interested in job-creation, you should be interested in income-generation and wealth-gene-

ration. My plea on this is you must disinvest for a particular purpose. And that particular purpose I have already mentioned.

The second suggestion I would like to make for the consideration of the Finance Minister is this. There is a huge expenditure, and I firmly believe if you reduce the size of the Government, the Government is a problem in itself—whether you run it or anybody else runs it. Government is the biggest problem the world over... *(Interruptions)*...

**SHRI ASHIS SEN (West Bengal):** Is it the size of the Government or is it the size of the Ministry?

**SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA:** Size of the Government in terms of people who are working in the Ministeries.

**SHRI ASHIS SEN:** But not the size of the Ministry.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY):** Mr. Singla, kindly address the Chair. You need not respond to his question.

**SHRI ASHIS SEN:** Through you, Sir, I am asking.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY):** You have to get permission before asking a question.

**SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA:** The army of administrators who are not performing a productive role in Indian society have failed and this has put an inflationary pressure on the economy.

And the third suggestion I would like to make to the hon. Minister is this. I would like to make a third suggestion to the Finance Minister.

**THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY):** The final suggestion.

**SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA:** Yes, the final suggestion. For example, take the costs involved in cars which is a running expenditure. Only Secretaries are given cars. They do not give any car to anyone down below. Now, what would happen? A friend of mine worked out a figure which comes to Rs. 6000 crores a year. People who are working in top positions in private companies are not really given a car. Everybody is not given a car. If a car is given to the staff the car is only used by the top officials of the Ministeries. Similar is the case with public sector undertakings. *(Time bell rings)*.. Before I conclude, I would like to take on Punjab. We have represented to the Finance Minister as well as to the Prime Minister. I thank the Finance Minister because there is a mention in the Budget that Rs. 339 crores is given to Punjab as a special loan. But the special loan taken was something like Rs. 6900 crores. The loan was taken by us to fight insurgency, to fight terrorism, to fight a war against Pakistan. Now, why should we, Punjab, pay the price? It is a great burden on us. We have to pay for it every year. The Finance Minister in his reply to my question in this House said that the Tenth Finance Commission would look into it. So, my point is that he is rescheduling it. He has no power to waive this. I would welcome if he does so as a special case. Punjab has successfully fought against terrorism and peace has been brought back to Punjab by Sardar Beant Singh, a great leader. *(Time bell rings)*... Only one minute Sir. My plea to the Finance Minister is: Could you be kind enough to consider it as a special case? It is not a case that the State took the loan. The State took the loan to fight a national cause a cause for national integration. Why should we pay for it? This is a drag on our costs. This is a drag on our Government's efforts.

Now, there is another request. That too we represented to the Finance

Minister. He doesn't listen to us because, probably, he would not like a remark that he, being a Punjabi, is favouring us. But it is a matter of real concern. Punjab suffered for so long, for ten years Industry did not come there. People moved out of the State to other places.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Singla, kindly conclude.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: I am just concluding. We represented to the Finance Minister to consider a tax holiday for new industrial units. It was a suggestion and request made by all the MPs from Punjab and, in fact the Chief Minister of the State also requested the Finance Minister to consider this. So I again plead for a tax holiday. There is a very genuine reason; Mr. Vice-Chairman, which I want to mention. For example, take the neighbouring States like Jammu and Kashmir and Himachal Pradesh. Now there is a tax holiday. I know and you can also verify that industries have moved to Himachal Pradesh from Punjab in order to have the tax benefit, a tax holiday for ten years. We are suffering because of this kind of a disadvantage. We have suffered for long. Now an unfavourable situation has been created for us If Himachal Pradesh is offering a ten year tax holiday being in hilly area, why don't you consider it in the case of this border State?

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY): Mr. Singla, you cannot take more time. You have already taken more than half-an-hour.

SHRI SURINDER KUMAR SINGLA: Sir only one sentence.

Sir, the Finance Minister has mentioned in his speech that the mass consumption items would not be brought under the tax net. Unfortunately, the rubber industry in Jala-

ndhar and the yarn industries in Ludhiana and other places have come under it. Sir, these are mass consumption items. I would like to request the Minister to consider whether these items can be brought out of the tax net. It can be made applicable from next year.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM: Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir; I thank you for giving me this opportunity.

Sir; we are listening to the debate on the General Budget from yesterday onwards. A number of my colleagues from this side have made some very valuable points. They spoke about the macro-economic management of the Government. Then they spoke about the deficit financing. They also spoke about various other aspects of the Budget. Because of want of time, I don't want to go into all the details. There is no point in covering the ground which is already covered by my esteemed friends from the Opposition.

Sir, I have some serious reservations on the Budget proposals particularly on three aspects. These Budget proposals have wider ramifications on the finances of the State Government and also on their functioning.

This aspect was not taken into consideration while making proposals.

Secondly, this Budget is anti-agriculture and has not provided the needed incentives to the growth of agriculture. Sir, a number of my friends from the treasury benches have feebly tried to defend some of the direct and indirect taxation proposals. There is a need to make a few observations on the point of favouritism or favour shown to the multinationals as against the interests of the indigenous industries.

Sir, some of my friends have already mentioned that there is a steep decline in the net resource transfer from the Central Government to the State Governments ever since Dr. Manmohan Singh has become the Finance Minister and ever since this Government has come to power.

Sir, in 1991-92, in the first stages of reforms, the so-called reforms or liberalisation, whatever you call it, the net resource transfer to States stood at 37.9 per cent of the Centre's total expenditure, excluding the expenditure met by the States. This ratio came to 38.3 per cent in 1992-93. It had declined to 37.4 per cent in the revised estimates for 1993-94. In this Budget it dropped further to 35.1 per cent. This is really a most unfortunate thing. Sir, all the State Governments are already caught in a situation of a debt-trap. Sir, the states owe nearly Rs. 1,40,000 crores to the Central Government. If there is further decline in the net resource transfer, all the State Governments would become bankrupt. This is a very serious matter. I hope the Finance Minister would take this issue into consideration. The Central Budget is not strictly limited to the Central Government alone. As far as the State finances are concerned, it has wider ramifications.

[THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKAR DAYAL SINGH) in the Chair] This is a very serious matter and it needs to be looked into. Another point that I would like to raise is about Plan allocation to the States. This has been raised only marginally. Last year, Plan assistance was to the tune of Rs. 18,010 crores. In the present Budget this has been raised to Rs. 19,304 crores. This is only a marginal increase considering the increase in the administered prices. Once you increase the administered prices, the State expenditure natural-

ly goes up. Considering these aspects, I should say that there is absolutely no increase. In fact, it is only a negative increase, that is, it is less than the allocation made last year if you take into consideration the value of the rupee, the general rise in prices of essential commodities, essential goods like cement, steel and also the cost of infrastructure facilities used by the State Governments for various developmental activities. The Plan allocation made this year is less than what was made last year. This is a very serious problem. With regard to agriculture we all know that there is a steep decline in public investment. The Government has always agreed to this. A number of times, the Finance Minister as well as the Prime Minister admitted that there was a steep decline in public investment in the case of agriculture. The Government have been saying that they are trying to encourage private investment in agriculture. To give a sort of fillip to private investment in agriculture, some credit agencies will have to be created. The NABARD is one such credit agency. In this year's Budget only Rs. 200 crores has been allotted towards the share capital of the NABARD. This is peanuts when compared to the huge investment that is required to make breath through in agriculture. The Government is thinking of promoting export of agricultural commodities. In that case, Rs. 200 crores that has been allotted by the Government towards the share capital of the NABARD will not be sufficient. You will have to increase the credit facilities given to the agriculturists. This is also a very serious matter which needs to be considered. Another point is that because of

some changes brought about in indirect taxation, the price of pesticides is likely to go up. In the case of fertilizers, there is no change right now. In this connection, the Finance Minister and also the Prime Minister—it appeared in the Press—have said that they will not be able to assure anything in this regard. The Finance Minister has said that he cannot give an assurance that he will not revise the prices or do away with the subsidy that is presently being given to the nitrogenous fertilizers. The little subsidy that is given to the nitrogenous fertilizers may be removed, may be reduced in future. Therefore, the fertilizer prices, the pesticides prices may rise. There is another controversy in regard to change in the duty structure of steel industry. The Agriculture Minister recently said that—I had heard it in some newspapers—the price of tractors and other agricultural implements would go up. This will adversely affect the agriculture sector. I would request the Government that while taking a final decision, it should look into all these matters. If the cost of fertilizer, the cost of implements and also the cost of capital goes up, it will adversely affect the growth of agriculture. The agriculture sector provides a lot of employment opportunities. Almost 65 to 70 per cent of employment is generated in this sector. The changes that have been brought about in the Customs duty and the Excise duty structure are also very unfortunate. These changes are heavily loaded against the indigenous industries. I will take two examples only to illustrate this point. One is the customs duty. While a lot of concessions are given by way of customs duty on one particular item, additional duty has been imposed, and, that is, on the import of medical equipments. Sir, since 1988, there has been no customs duty on medical equipments; rather some sort of duty exemption has been given on the import of sophisticated medical equipments so that

sophisticated advanced medical treatment can be within the reach of the common man. And a number of institutions, a number of private hospitals and other agencies have been importing them without customs duty. But, in this Budget, unfortunately, customs duty to the extent of 15 to 20 per cent has been levied on the import of medical equipment particularly, with regard to CAT scan and some other more sophisticated items where the duty has been raised to 50 per cent. This is really most unfortunate, more so when a lot of concessions are being given in customs duty on other products to help and encourage multinationals and other big industries. But with regard to medical equipment which are useful for the common man, the public, customs duty is being imposed. There is no rationale, there is no reason, there is no rhyme, in customs duty regime.

Sir, with regard to cosmetics, I distinctly remember the Finance Minister said once that he is giving a gift to the Indian women; may be the Finance Minister is very popular in the drawing rooms of Delhi or in the cocktail circuit of Bombay and Madras... (*Interruptions*)

THE MINISTER OF FINANCE  
SHRI MANMOHAN SINGH): In  
Hyderabad too.

SHRI MENTAY PADMANABHAM:  
Probably so. Sir, take for example, the toilet soap industry. Ninety per cent of the soap industry is in the hands of the multinationals. Their market share is nearly 90 per cent. On toilet soaps, the duty has been reduced from 110 per cent to 50 per cent during the last two years. But the same facility is not given to other items which our women generally use. For example, take the case of detergent powder which is in the non-power sector; it is mostly in the small scale sector. In Gujarat and Andhra Pradesh, there are about 20 to 25 small units which are about to

[Shri Mentay Padmanabham]

be closed down. Now, after great persuasion, the Finance Minister has announced a five per cent cut in excise duty in the Budget, it was reduced from 35 per cent to 30 per cent, but, this is without any distinction; detergent power which costs about Rs. 40 to 50 is being given the same facility as the detergent powder which costs about Rs. 14 to Rs. 15 which is produced in non power sector. This is unjust because no Indian women, particularly, women from the middle-class or the lower-middle class sections can manage without detergent powders. Therefore a greater relief should be given to the detergent powder industries which are in the small-scale and tiny sectors as well in non-power sector.

Sir, I would like to mention some more points, but because of the constraints of time, I am not able to say everything. But I will send my suggestions to the Finance Minister and I request him to take these suggestions into consideration while replying to the debate and while finalising the Finance Bill.

Thank you, Sir.

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY:** Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, thank you for giving me this opportunity to speak on the General Budget presented to the nation by the hon. Finance Minister. Sir, the reaction from the public and also the economists on the Budget proposals of the Finance Minister has been quite encouraging. Normally, when the Budget is presented by the Finance Minister of this country, there will be a lot of criticism made by various quarters. But this year, there is criticism only from the Opposition parties and from the public, from the industrialists and from the rural sector. This year's Budget is not only growth-oriented but also there is a thrust for rural employment potential. This I would like to say before this House because there has been criticism from the other side that the Government is

tilting towards industrialists and multinationals. Not only this, the Government is accused of coming in line with IMF and the World Bank. This doubt has to be cleared by the Finance Minister.

The allocation made for rural employment is Rs. 7,010 crores. This allocation is made in different forms. When this figure is compared with the last year's allocation, it is more than 40 per cent. When such a big allocation is made by the Finance Minister, it is the primary duty of the State Governments concerned to ensure that the funds allocated to them under various schemes such as the Jawahar Rozgar Yojana, the Prime Minister's Rural Employment Programme, etc. are utilised by them well and the benefit is passed on to the people. This is under that assumption that a big allocation has been made. Unfortunately, we don't have a mechanism to monitor the funds given by the Central Government to the various State Governments. There is no mechanism to monitor whether the funds have been spent for the purpose for which they are provided. There are a lot of complaints that the funds given by the Finance Minister to the various States for rural employment programmes are being diverted by the State Governments concerned for other schemes. Such reports have come in. Unfortunately, no action has been taken. While making the allocations, I want the Finance Minister to be very strict and see that the funds provided for the generation of rural employment are properly spent.

Sir, the Finance Minister has widened the tax net. I welcome it. There are some areas where the Finance Minister has to concentrate even though there are objections from various quarters. When Mr. V. P. Singh was the Finance Minister, I made this suggestion. Even after this I have consistently been saying this. In this country, 10 per cent of the farmers are big landlords.

Ninety per cent of the farmers are marginal and small farmers. These big landlords create a lobby and see that there is no tax on agriculture income. If the Finance Minister brings them under the tax net, the small and marginal farmers will not be affected. I want the Finance Minister to make a study on this because these 10 per cent people, who are having large areas of land, who are getting income out of those lands and who are enjoying the infrastructural facilities such as water, electricity, etc. provided by the Government, are not contributing even a single pie to the exchequer of the Government. I want the Finance Minister to probe into the matter and see that these people are brought under the tax net because your policy now is to broadening the tax structure was widely appreciated. Though such a measure receives opposition from various quarters including the vested interests, this is an area on which the Finance Minister should concentrate. You tax the rich and leave the poor. That should be the policy I think, definitely the marginal and small farmers will not be affected. The big farmers who are getting lakhs and lakhs of rupees of income out of the land and who enjoy the benefits of the Government, do not pay anything to the Government. And you should take steps so that they also pay something to the Government.

**SHRI VITHALBHAI M. PATEL** (Gujarat): What is the percentage? It is only one per cent.

**SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY**: It is 10 per cent, according to me. This is the problem with we people. We do not study and we say that it is only one per cent. It is not one per cent. You have the tobacco barons. You are on the Tobacco Board. A lot of black money is generated in the tobacco sector. Do you know that? You do not know. So, this is one area on which the Finance Minister should concentrate.

As far as Defence is concerned, the allocation that has been made is quite satisfactory. Our neighbours are trying to concentrate on India. They are trying to destabilise our country. I thank the Finance Minister for giving a thrust to the Defence sector. It is of vital importance. The provision that has been made is quite large and I thank the Finance Minister for this.

Now, coming to the alarming proportion of interest which the Government is paying. I think, this is a serious thing which has been continuing for years. And Rs. 46,000 crores have been provided for this. It is a big amount which the Government of India can use for other developmental purposes. Some of the hon. Members have also raised this issue. It is a matter of serious concern. The Finance Minister should also concentrate on this. The money that is being paid by the Government by way of interest in respect of various saving schemes should be minimised. On the other hand, he has done a very wise thing by reducing the interest rate by one per cent which is quite welcome. There is a large-scale appreciation from the people who are getting money through the various financial institutions for industrial and other purposes. Another concession that has been given by the Finance Minister is in respect of capital goods industry. Sir, in the last three years or for that matter, in the last last five years, the capital goods industry is getting only a limited concession from the Government of India. Now, the Government of India is giving the necessary thrust to this area so that India can develop infrastructure industries with indigenous technology and indigenous equipment. Hitherto, we have been importing important machinery from abroad. And we have also been borrowing technology from abroad. With the concession given by the Finance Minister, the capital goods industry will fully utilise this

opportunity and they will help in developing the infrastructure for large-scale industries. Sir, one bungling is going on in this area. I wrote to the Commerce Minister. And I would also like to bring it to the notice of the hon. Finance Minister. In countries like Germany and Japan, they have got some machinery which is junk and which is outmoded. What will they do with this machinery? They do a little painting and a little repairing. And they bring it as second-hand machinery into our country. They dump it in our country. This is happening. And the people who are importing that machinery quote a higher price here and thus they are also getting the benefit. This kind of imports are taking place as far as the second-hand machinery is concerned, in the capital goods sector. I want the Finance Minister to pay attention to this. He should see that the loopholes are plugged. And I am very glad that I received a reply from the Commerce Minister saying, "we are vigilant." I want the Finance Minister also to look into this aspect so that this particular area is taken care of. In the public sector when disinvestment scheme was started, there were objections from the Opposition parties, particularly from the Left and Janata Dal saying that this Government is going to close down the public sector units. The policy of the Government has been pronounced not only in this House but also outside by the Finance Minister and also by the hon. Prime Minister, not only in India but also abroad, saying that we will follow the middle path. The Prime Minister had also said that we are not going to close down the public sector units and wherever required, we will raise our resources through the public and see that the unviable public sector units become viable. Now, what is happening is, that to make those units viable, you are trying to pump money into them. The Government should have a clear-cut policy on this issue. If the industry is in the red and if it cannot be revived there should be

a definite policy for it. What you are doing is, you are trying to club the profit-making unit and the loss-making unit together so that the public and the share market could be attracted and you are able to raise funds. But you are not able to revive the industrial units which have become sick. The Price Minister had said that if the industry could not be revived, we will not be able to re-open or run it. On those lines, you should have a clear-cut policy. Let the private sector take care of the units which are in the red. You have to take to the middle path.

Coming to small-scale industry, this year a lot of representations have been made to the Finance Minister because the Finance Minister did not differentiate between the old units and the new units which are now coming up in the country. He has removed the exemption enjoyed by smaller units earlier and because of this, small industrialists are suffering. I myself met the Finance Minister and made a representation relating to cosmetics industry. This industry has so far been dominated by the multinationals in this country excepting one or two large houses like the Tatas and Birlas. Now, small industries are coming up, specially in the South. Take, for example, the shampoo sector about which I want to specifically make a mention. Presently, the persons who are manufacturing this item, shampoo, in packets do not have any marketing mechanism. They run it as a cottage industry in their place. In my own small town with a population of about 2,50,000 people, more than 5 thousand families are surviving on this industry earning about Rs. 30 to 40 thousand per year, and giving employment to rural people, without any support from the Government. Now that you have removed the exemption clause, they are not able to compete with the multinationals, for marketing their products. The Government does not give

them any support for marketing their products. There has been a great hue and cry from other cottage industries, from the Khadi and village industries because they do not have any in-built system for marketing. And all these industries are suffering. They are not able to market their produce in competition with other companies. As a result, all these cottage industries are suffering. Sir, the shampoo industry which is more than five years old, which is employing more than 40,000 persons in my place, is facing closure. They would not be able to run this industry. It is a common man's item. They are selling it in satchets. It costs just one rupee. This common man in the villages is using it. As I said, it gives employment to 40,000 persons. In this connection, I gave a representation to the hon. Finance Minister. Kindly revive this industry. This is an age-old industry which has no in-built marketing mechanism. Now, new industries are coming up. Therefore, you should extend the concession for some more time. In regard to the representation that has been given to him, the Finance Minister can, through his own source, have a study. Somehow, you should try to help this industry which as I pointed out has no marketing mechanism of its own. They cannot fight with companies like Hindustan Lever which has got a wide marketing network. They can kill such small-scale industries. Therefore, I would plead with the Finance Minister to see that such industries are given protection by the Government by extending excise duty concessions so that there could be more generation of rural employments.

Sir, it is a very good measure that the Finance Minister has taken in regard to fiscal management. We find that most of the States run into overdrafts. Some of the State Governments could not pay even salaries to their employees. By fiscal management alone, the Finance Minister would be able to control inflation. ■

know he is very serious about it. Immediately after the presentation of the Budget, he said that though we need not be worried about the fiscal deficit, it still had to be taken care of. He is very keen to see that it is taken care of this year.

Coming to my State, Pondicherry, the planning Commission allocated funds for this year, i.e. 1994-95. Then, we received a communication from the Finance Ministry saying that from our Plan allocation, Rs. 31 crores had been cut. Rs. 31 crores has been cut from the total allocation agreed to earlier. The Chief Minister received this letter. He was able to find out the reason for it. They said that this was because in the case of the other States also, a cut had been made. Sir, the Union Territory of Pondicherry is directly under the control of the Central Government. It is a Union Territory with a Legislature, like Delhi. Members of Parliament from Delhi made a representation to the Planning Commission. The Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission gave an assurance that Delhi's Plan size would not be cut. But as far as our State is concerned, we have not received any positive reply so far. You wanted us to mobilise resources. We have done it. Therefore, you should allocate funds to us as per the ratio accepted by the Ninth Finance Commission. I would request the hon. Finance Minister to kindly see that the allocation which had been made for the Union Territory of Pondicherry is not cut because we are mainly dependent upon local resources and we need to support the developmental activities in the State in a big way.

In the end, I would say that it is a growth-oriented Budget. It not only helps the taxpayers, traders and industrialists, but it also gives an impetus to all-round development in the country. I support the Budget and I thank the Finance Minister for giving us a soft Budget. Thank you.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI** (Karnataka): Mr. Vice-Chairman, Sir, this long wait is worthwhile because however small the attendance is in the House. I find that at least the hon. Finance Minister is here.

**SHRI M. A. BABY:** Quality is important; quantity is not important.

**SHRI RAM JETHMALANI:** You are right.

Sir, when the hon. Finance Minister and the Government, of which he is a part, had embarked upon the new economic policy; you would, perhaps, recall that I had broken ranks and supported them, while standing on this side.

Sir, I still maintain that the Government has struck a right course. It is on the right track. And when I heard the speech of the hon. Finance Minister, what struck me as most remarkable was the last paragraph of his speech which he ended up with a peroration, the first part of which made me feel proud as an Indian citizen. He told the House, where he spoke, that "this Budget is inspired by a firm conviction that India has all the material and human resources to be a front-ranking nation of the world." I fully share this sentiment and I fully share this intellectual conviction of the hon. Finance Minister, but Sir, those of us who have been concerned about the direction in which the country is going and those of us who have been concerned for quite some time, have always been confused by the paradox that Indians wherever they go, they make a success of themselves, wherever they go, they not only make a success of themselves but they win the affection and they win the respect and confidence of those with whom they compete and amidst whom they operate. So, Sir; the paradox is that while Indians do so well, India never does so well and has never done so well. What is happening to those human resources of which

very proudly the Finance Minister reminds us? Our human resources seem to be flowering forth in alien quarters and outside the country, but something goes wrong with them when they operate within our own borders. Sir, the answer has been provided by the Finance Minister himself to this paradox. The answer that he has given is an answer worth pondering about. I hope what he has said is going to be taken note of by the Government to which he belongs, by his Prime Minister and by others. He has reminded us of the famous words of Rabindranath Tagore in the final peroration where he said that he wanted to build an India where "the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit." I hope the Finance Minister has asked himself that when he started this new policy. He started this new policy by telling the House that.

Indian economy was a shattered economy and he said that 'we embark upon the awful task'—the awful task as he put it—of rebuilding the economy which he found in a shattered state. Sir, why was the economy in a shattered state? Why had we arrived at that point in our economic growth where we had to break completely with the past traditions and methods of solving our economic problems and enter into a completely new method of dealing with those problems? I hope the Finance Minister has pondered over this. In a budget speech one does not try to make political capital and one does not apportion blame, but one thing must be said that very often we on this side and some of the leaders of our political parties on this side, have been blame for having produced the kind of economic chaos that Mr. Finance Minister had to deal with. This must be repelled and it will do no good to the Treasury Benches to continue to lay the blame for all the economic ills

upon the Opposition parties that have occasionally come into power for brief interludes of time. I wish to ask, did this clear stream of reason which does not get diverted into a dry desert, start for the first time in June 1991? Or was it flowing also from 1946, 1947 and 1948 when this ruling party came to power? So, Sir, if we are to go by the clear flow of this stream of reason; I think, looking back to the last 45 or 46 years the blame may lie squarely with those who are now quoting Rabindranath Tagore. But Sir, this is not an occasion to allocate blame. Let us, therefore, not attack one another and let us not find out who did what. Let us now think of the future.

We must start with an accepted confession of the Finance Minister that in 1991, when he started the Indian economy was in complete doldrums and it is with the doldrums that he has to deal with. He has been at the helm of affairs for the last three years, and this is the fourth budget which he has proudly presented. But he has expressed in his budget his own failures, his own shortcomings and the non-fulfilment of his projections and expectations which he had harboured when he presented the previous budgets. What are the reasons? And I hope he has pondered over it. And, Sir, some of the reasons which he has attempted to give for the failures which he confesses to are reasons which I don't share. The reason is to be found in one part of his peroration; and in his peroration he says, "There is immense danger if we falter or appear indecisive." And if the policies upon which the Government embarked have not yielded fruits which they were expected to yield; or if you have fallen short of your targets; you have fallen short because this is precisely what has happened; you have faltered and you have appeared indecisive. And this is the thesis which I wish to develop a little bit during the short time that I have at my disposal.

Sir, if an honest introspection and analysis has been done of the shattered state of the economy—and I came to discover the real causes—the real causes lie not in any fault or deficit in the savings of this poor country, because the economists and their records and their statistics disclose that from 1950 to 1984 the national savings in India had jumped from 10 per cent to 22 per cent and, therefore, the fault primarily has not been of savings. The fault has been of productivity, and the productivity targets have failed. And they have failed for four principal reasons, which very distinguished economists have pointed out to us.

The first reason—and which the Finance Minister will take note of, because unless this factor is totally neutralized, there is going to be no success of any economic policies, however theoretically sound those policies might be—is the extensive bureaucratic control over production, investment and trade. I suggest to the Finance Minister that he must pick up a few young lawyers, good brilliant lawyers, put India's Statute Book in their charge, ask them to examine the hundreds of statutes which exist upon our Statute Book; and those statutes purporting to deal with trade, commerce, industry, distribution of goods, distribution of services and so on examine those statutes and find those sections of each of those statutes in which power is given either to the Government or to officers of the Government to deal with the economic process. In other words, Sir, the whole Statute Book now requires to be scanned for the purpose of discovering where the bureaucratic tentacles have spread into the economic process, and these tentacles must now be abolished, and they must be promptly abolished. One of the reasons why I supported the new policies was that I believed—and I have always believed—that India is poor because there is corruption in this country.

5.00 P.M.

Because of corruption there is no equal and fair distribution of wealth and the Gross Domestic Product. There are too many persons who take an unfair share of the national cake. That is why the real products, even of our efficiency and our labour, do not percolate to the levels to which they should percolate. Unless you dismantle the bureaucratic and political control over the economic process, you shall not register the kind of success which your policies must give you. This is the project upon which you must immediately embark and dismantle the holds and tentacles. You have now given up the inward-looking trade and investment policies. I was just talking to one of my colleagues. He told me very gracefully. "I understand you are supporting the liberalisation policy, but how about globalisation?" To that a short answer has been given by an extremely distinguished economist who says that the tele-communications, computers, transportation logistic revolution have permitted global sourcing and developed a world capital market. Both have made it easier for poor countries to export to rich countries and for rich countries to source abroad in poor countries. Effectively everyone now has an access to the same world's capital market, more equal access to the capitalists has reduced the edge that being born in rich countries used to give. If we had not participated in the new global market that has come into existence, we would have been following the same old folly and we would not have been able to take the benefits of the changes that are now taking place the world over. The world has changed and a certain system has failed. We discovered much to our amazement that the Soviet Union was not a great military power. We also discovered that it was never a great economic power. These discoveries do not mean that anybody has to take the blame for it. The system

failed. It is nobody's fault. It is certainly not the fault of the Indian Communist Party or those who belong to the Communist party or those who wedded themselves to the old Communist doctrine. Systems change and systems do not remain for long. They are not immortal. Like human beings they too must change. The system has collapsed. There is nothing to be ashamed of. The constitution of communism will always remain. Communism has succeeded permanently in humanising the face of capitalism and has given to capitalism a generous dose, a generous transfusion of the blood of compassion and the blood of concern for the downtrodden and for the poor people. This contribution of socialism and communism will never be forgotten. Therefore, there is nothing to be ashamed of. But the system failed. And once the system failed—we were partners and participants in that system—due to the mistaken policies of our previous leaders. There is nothing to be ashamed of in acknowledging that those policies have got to be changed.

The third and the most copious cause which I wish to refer to—and this is where the halting nature of the Finance Minister's own policies comes into play—is that there has been an incompetent and corrupt public sector, much of which is totally unnecessary. My suggestion is—and this is a suggestion, which I am making, not for the first time, but I have made it years ago—that in industrial units or in a group of units which are not economically productive, you cannot expect high returns. A Marwari money-lender can produce 21 per cent return on your investment. And you have pumped thousands and thousands of crores of rupees of tax-payers' money into this ideologically buttressed units of production, and Mr. Jagesh Desai, as always was today able to say that the

public sector has not completely failed, they have produced Rs. 3,000 crores of profit. But, Rs. 3,000 crores of profit on what investment? Sir, the enormous amount of investment that has been made, you take into account the 3000 figure. It is really about one per cent. It is the twenty-one division of the profit which an ordinary investor in the market will be able to produce upon investment.

I said ten years ago that the public sector in this country was totally vital. There are six items where it is totally vital and where the public sector should remain, whatever be its productivity, whatever be its incompetence, we cannot get rid of it. That is Defence, Atomic Energy, Coal, Petroleum, Railways and selective mining sectors. Apart from these, the public sector should be disposed of lock, stock and barrel at distress prices.

At this point, I wish to dispel another notion. ~~I have just dispelled~~ one attack which the Congressmen have habitually levelled against the leaders of the Opposition. But now I wish to dispel an attack just made by the Opposition against the Finance Minister and his party and his policies. It has been said that this is a decline of our economic sovereignty, we are selling out to the multinationals and so on and so forth and the last three Budgets including the fourth one are the result of the international pressures and for the ladies and gentlemen in the IMF and the World Bank. This is very unfair. According to me, this is unfair because the policies which Mr. Manmohan Singh is following: whether he wishes to own or not, are policies which people like me have been advocating in this country for the last 40 to 50 years. The great Mr. Rajaji advocated these policies. The great Minob Masani advocated these policies before he became a socialist and before he became a disillusioned anti-socialist. These policies have been propagating them.

PROF. SAURIN BHATTACHARYA: Before he became a socialist... (Interruptions)...

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: During the short interval he associated himself with these policies... (Interruptions) ... Therefore, it is wrong to say that these are policies which are being advocated by economists of repute. Some of them are Mr. Manmohan Singh's friends and classmates in the universities, who have been advocating these policies. For example, Justice Bhagwati and Mr. Ashok Mehta have been advocating these policies and we have been advocating these policies for a long time, irrespective of whichever party I belonged to. Therefore, please do not give credit to the IMF. In 1991 we were faced with a shattered economy and you could not restore this economy and get out of the clutches of this shattered economy extended by foreign aid and that foreign aid must require a quality of aid-worthiness and aid-worthiness cannot be determined by the figure you want to borrow. It has got to be determined to some extent by the creditor. That means he is entitled to know that he is advancing to a creditor who is worthwhile. (Time bell) I would like to mention two or three points in two minutes. I thought that you have promised to give me five minutes.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN (SHRI SHANKR DAYAL SINGH): No. You belong to a group where there are eight speakers who want to speak.

SHRI RAM JETHMALANI: Then I will quickly rush through. In the opening part of his Budget speech, the hon. Finance Minister referred to the lethargy which had overtaken the capital goods industry. He said that, otherwise, everything was right with the industrial growth. But he said that this particular sector has been lethargic. I cannot reconcile this with a later statement in his speech wherein he says that there was a Rs. 2000 crore—shortfall

in the excise duty due to recession in some high revenue yielding industries. Now which are those high revenue yielding industries? Are they the same as the capital goods industries or are these different? I hope he will resolve this issue and resolve this doubt which I seriously entertain.

Sir, last year Rs. 5,700 crores were given to the nationalised banks to make provision for bad and doubtful debts. Almost the same amount, Rs. 5,600 crores, less by Rs. 100 crores is again being given this year for the same purpose. Now, Sir, Mr. Ashok Mitra, I yesterday, complained that there was no tender in this Budget speech. Sir, one method of taking away the tender from the Budget speech is to resort to this kind of 'gobbledygook' which word you must have seen in the English dictionary, Mr. Finance Minister, to use involved jargons so that the real sense of what you mean to say is totally suppressed. What you really mean to say is that this money had been stolen from the banks by politicians and their favourites and these are bad debts and now, we took to transferring monies from the exchequer to these banks to make up for the loss created by a bad investment and credit debts which have got to be written off. Sir, it is true that you have created some kind of a Special Recovery Tribunal. But please do not lay much store by it because all these debts are totally unsecured. You will be wasting time. You will neither find the debtor, nor will you find recovery. You will be carrying these Tribunal orders in your hands and wasting more funds on recoveries which, you know, you will not be able to recover. You have promised that there is going to be, now, adequate communication of information about the defaulters. This information about defaulters must be communicated not when suits are filed, but they must be communicated when the first default takes place in the return of the loan. It must be

communicated to every single banking and financial institution and you will have the use of a computerised system so that anybody who can press about a prospective debtor who goes for funds. I know it for a fact that from a branch office of a bank communication goes to the Reserve Bank. It reaches another clerk in the Reserve Bank who knows nothing about what the subject-matter is. The process of real trial has taken about six months and by the time he writes another explanatory note, another one year has expired.

The Finance Minister promises amendment to the Company law and I understand that a new Amendment Bill, a new Company law, is on the anvil. There are three things which have to be taken care of; the honesty of the prospector, the transparency of the balance-sheets and the role of the Company Law Board. I say it from my experience—and this is no reflection on anybody—that some members of the Company Law Board have, certainly, not distinguished themselves either for their competency or for their integrity and the Company Law Board is exercising powers which once vested in the High Courts and these powers must be shifted back to the High Courts.

Lastly, I would like to say a few words about one of the most copious causes of our economic failure, and that is the prevalent corruption. I do not wish to devote much time. It is a phenomenon with which the Finance Minister is familiar. But I hoped the Finance Minister who came to be a Finance Minister with a clean slate, with no strings of a politician, with no kind of attributes which we normally associate with a politician, would reform the system and not himself become a victim of the system. Here, I find, from his Budget, that he has picked up already a fair amount of flattery, a fair amount of variation from the historical truth and a fair amount of shying away from calling a spade a spade, corruption. Unless you deal with it, what-

ever your 'ism', whether it is capitalism or communism or socialism or any other 'ism', India will remain poor and the poor shall remain and become poorer. Deal with that firmly and you will have the support of the entire nation.

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश):  
उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, पांच बजे स्पेशल मेशन का समय था। (व्यवधान) . . . .

प्रो. विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा (दिल्ली):  
उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सुबह यह तय हुआ था कि पांच बजे यहां पर स्पेशल मेशन लिए जाएंगे। यह उस समय हाऊस ने पूछकर के घोषणा की गई थी कि टीका पांच बजे इसको शुरू किया जाएगा। अब पांच बजे के बजाय, सवा पांच बजे चूके हैं, अब आप स्पेशल मेशन को यहां पर लीजिए। . . . (व्यवधान) .  
पहले सुबह 12 बजे का तय हुआ था, (व्यवधान) . . . फिर 5 बजे की बात हुई। तो पहले स्पेशल मेशन लिए जाने चाहिए।

मौलाना अब्दुल्ला खान आजमी (उत्तर प्रदेश): बारह बजे तो स्पेशल मेशन का बारह बजा दिया गया। अब तो करा दीजिए। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

: [مولانا عبد اللہ خان اعظمی]

بازہ بچے نو اسپیشل میشن کا بارہ  
بجا دیا گیا - اب نو کرنا دیجئے -  
[ . . . (مداخلت) . . . ]

THE MINISTER OF STATE IN THE MINISTRY OF PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS (SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA): . . . The Business Advisory Committee had decided that the House would sit late to complete the business, if necessary. There are a number of speakers who are still wanting to speak on the Budget. We are prepared to sit. But if the Members would like to guillotine the discussion, we have no problem. (Interruptions)

PROF. VIJAY KUMAR MALHOTRA: No, no. If the House decides something, you can't change it off and on. (Interruptions)

SHRIMATI MARGARET ALVA: Sir, I am sorry to say that the Members who are now speaking do not come

to the Business Advisory Committee's meeting. Their leaders agree with something. Their leaders said that they would sit late, if necessary, so that the Members could participate in the Budget discussion. Tomorrow, there are three Ordinances to be passed. Tomorrow is the last day as far as official business is concerned. The day after tomorrow is the Private Members' day. So, tomorrow, the whole day, we have three Ordinances which are going to be completed. Therefore, there will not be time for the Budget. If you do not want the Budget discussion, I have no problem. (Interruptions)

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री: माननीय उपसभापति जी, जो उस समय चयर ने निश्चय किया था, उस पर अमल होना चाहिए, पांच के बजाय सवा पांच बजे गए हैं। . . . . (व्यवधान) . . . .

उपसभाध्यक्ष: श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह): अच्छी बात है। शास्त्री जी, बैठ जाइए। . . . (व्यवधान) . . .

SHRI S. VIDUTHLAI VIRUMBI: Sir, we can continue the Budget discussion till midnight after the Special Mentions are over. (Interruptions)

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, after the Special Mentions are over we can continue the Budget discussion.

श्री जगदीश प्रसाद माथूर: उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, सुबह भी यह बात हुई थी कि पांच बजे स्पेशल मेशन लिए जाएंगे। बजट की चर्चा चूंकि लम्बी चलेगी, इसलिए पहले स्पेशल मेशन हो जाएंगे। जब चयर ने स्पेशल मेशन के लिए पांच बजे कह दिया था, तो उसके साथ न्याय किया जाए क्योंकि बाकी लोग अपना कार्यक्रम ऐसा बनाकर आए हैं पांच बजे कहने के बाद, तो पहले स्पेशल मेशन को ले लिया जाए।

SHRI V. NARAYANASAMY: Sir, kindly take up the Special Mentions. After the Special Mentions are completed, we can continue with the Budget discussion. (Interruptions)

श्रीमती कमला सिंहा (बिहार): यह तय हुआ था कि पांच बजे स्पेशल

मेशन होगा, आप यह नहीं कर सकते ।  
... (व्यवधान) ...

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री : आप...  
(व्यवधान) ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :  
आप भरी बात सुनिए । शास्त्री जी, आप बैठिए ।

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री : आप अनुमति तो दें ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :  
आप बैठिए तो । सभा की अनुमति की जरूरत वहां होती है जहां कोई बहुत कट्टोवर्सी हो । आपकी बात हमने सुन ली है । मैंने पहले चूंकि इनका नाम पुकारा था, ये शुरू कर लें, उसके तुरंत बाद स्पेशल मेशन शुरू कर देंगे ।

श्री. विजय कुमार मल्होत्रा  
इसमें 6.00 बज जाएंगे ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :  
नहीं, इनको शुरू करने दीजिए ।

श्री अहमद मोहम्मदभाई पटेल  
(गुजरात) : उपसभाध्यक्ष महोदय, आपने जनरल बजट पर जो मुझे बोलने का मौक़ दिया, उसके लिए मैं आपका आभारी हूँ । सबसे पहले मैं वित्त मंत्री जी को तहेदिल मैं मुबारकबाद देना चाहूंगा ...  
(व्यवधान) ...

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :  
बस । अब आप समाप्त करें और कल अपनी भाषण जारी रखें ।

श्री अहमद मोहम्मदभाई पटेल : मैं बहुत ही कम समय लूंगा, दस मिनट में खत्म कर दूंगा ।

उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री शंकर दयाल सिंह) :  
नहीं, आप स्पेशल मेशन के बाद कटीन्गु करेंगे । अब हम स्पेशल मेशन लेते हैं ।

I have heard everybody. Now, I am giving my suggestions. Don't worry at all.

SHRIMATI KAMLA SINHA: Mr. Vice-Chairman, you cannot rule like that. (Interruptions)

#### SPECIAL MENTIONS ..

Threat to Environment due to felling of trees

श्री विष्णु कांत शास्त्री (उत्तर प्रदेश) :  
माननीय उपसभाध्यक्ष जी, मैं आपके माध्यम से इस सदन का और भारत सरकार के पर्यावरण मंत्रालय का ध्यान एक बहुत भयावह घटना की आशंका की ओर आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ । आज के "नवभारत टाइम्स" में मुख-पृष्ठ पर यह विशेष समाचार छपा है कि हिमाचल सरकार लाखों की सख्या में गुप-चुप पेड़ काटने की साजिश बना रही है । मैं आपको बताना चाहता हूँ कि अर्थ-लालसा से प्रेरित होकर वर्तमान हिमाचल सरकार ने लाखों पेड़ काटने की योजना बनाई है, जिनमें डेढ़ लाख पेड़ बिल्कुल हरे-भरे हैं । मैं इस सदन का ध्यान इस तथ्य की ओर दिलाना चाहता हूँ कि अगर ये लाखों पेड़ एक अरब रुपए के लोभ के कारण काट दिए जाएंगे तो पूरा हिमाचल प्रदेश ही नहीं, सम्पूर्ण भारतवर्ष पर्यावरण की दृष्टि से निरावरण हो जाएगा । इस प्रकार का अत्याचार करने वाली हिमाचल प्रदेश की वर्तमान सरकार के उपर नियंत्रण और अकुंश लगाया जाना चाहिए । मैं इस सदन का ध्यान आकृष्ट करना चाहता हूँ कि श्रीमती इंदिरा गांधी ने 1983 में व्यापारिक स्तर पर बड़े पैमाने पर काटे जाने वाली वन सम्पदा को बचाने के लिए कानून बनाकर निर्देश दिया था कि हरे-भरे पेड़ नहीं काटे जाएंगे ।

[उपसभाध्यक्ष (श्री वी० जयगन्धारी पीठासीन हुए)]

1983 से यह नियम चालू है । हमारी भा०ज०पा० सरकार ने हिमाचल प्रदेश में न केवल वनों का संरक्षण किया बल्कि वनों का बचाव करने के लिए अनेक प्रकार की योजनाएँ बनाई और यह प्रमाण है कि भाजपा की सरकार के समय इस वन सम्पदा की बहुत ही समृद्धि हुई । मैं आपको यह बताना चाहता हूँ कि इस प्रकार के विनाश की योजना तो हिन्दी के बड़े कवि जय शंकर प्रसाद की उक्ति को सत्य सिद्ध करती है कि जो तुच्छ अर्थ लाभ के कारण इन उपकारी पेड़ों को काटते हैं वे लोहे की कुल्हाड़ी से नहीं अपनी दुबुद्धि की कुल्हाड़ी से इन पेड़ों को काटते हैं । मैं आपसे अनुमति चाहूंगा कि मैं वह पूरी कविता इस सदन में सुनाऊँ :

“सरिता सुकूलन में तपसी बने से तरु,  
सरल स्वभाव खड़े हृदय उदार ते ।  
छाया देत काहू को पथिक जौन तापित है,  
वीछन दिवाकर ते दुखित दवार ते ।  
नवल प्रमोद सौ करत हिय मोदमय,  
सुन्दर सुस्वादु फल देत निज डार ते ।  
स्वारथ में मूढ नर थोरे निज लाभ हेत,  
तऊ ताहि काटत हैं कुमति कुठार ते ।”  
अपनी कुमति के कुठार से, दुंबुद्धि की कुल्हाड़ी ने पेड़ काटने की भर्त्सना कवि ने की है । यहां तो पेड़ों को लाखों की संख्या में कटवाकर यह दुंबुद्धि, सामूहिक दुंबुद्धि आत्मघात की ओर ले जा रही है । इसलिए मैं आपसे और आपके माध्यम से माननीय कमलनाथ जी से यह अनुरोध करना चाहूंगा और उनको स्मरण दिलाना चाहूंगा कि आज मुझ ही वे पर्यावरण मंत्रालय की तरफ से यहां बहुत से अच्छे वायदे कर गए हैं । आप लोगों में से बहुतों को मालूम होगा कि माननीय कमलनाथ जी ने हम लोगों को एक व्यक्तिगत पत्र लिख कर यह आग्रह किया है कि जो एक करोड़ खर्च करने की योजना चालू करने का हमको अधिकार दिया गया है, उसके अन्तर्गत हम वनरोपण करें । मैं माननीय कमलनाथ जी से पूछना चाहता हूँ कि क्या वे हिमाचल प्रदेश की सरकार की इस आत्मघाती लोभभर्या योजना को बंद कर भारत के पर्यावरण की रक्षा करेंगे और साबित करेंगे कि वे एंव पर्यावरण मंत्रालय अपने देश की वन सम्पदा की रक्षा के कर्तव्य के प्रति निष्ठावान हैं । धन्यवाद ।

#### **Demands of non-Graduate Veterinary Practitioners**

**SHRI J. S. RAJU (Tamil Nadu):**  
Sir, I wish to draw the attention of the Government to the protest march by the Veterinary Services Federation of India on 9th March, 1994 demanding implementation of their charter of demands. The Union Government speaks volumes about the need to protect both the wild animals and the livestock. Only two weeks before, the hon. Minister for Agriculture, Dr. Balram Jakhar, said “The energy produced by the livestock of the country is worth Rs. 1,000 crores a year. But it is unfortunate that these over 60,000 non-

graduate veterinary practitioners in whose hands the well-being of these animals rests, are not given their due.”

It is very regrettable, even after the announcement of the Fifth Pay Commission, not even the Fourth Pay Commission's recommendations have been implemented as regards these Veterinary Practitioners. The principle of 'equal pay for equal work' for the non-graduate veterinary practitioners all over the country, as recommended by the Fourth Pay Commission and prescribed by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, has not been brought into force. Grant of risk allowance, strongly recommended by the Pay Commission, has been ignored. These practitioners have to treat animals affected by rabies, anthrax, brucellosis etc. and run the risk of contracting these diseases. Therefore, the Centre would do well to give equal pay and also risk allowance to these non-graduate practitioners. Besides this, they have been demanding the constitution of National Board for Veterinary professional examinations, provision of in-service training to non-graduate veterinary practitioners, as recommended by the National Commission on Agriculture, grant of professional status to the non-graduate veterinary practitioners as registered veterinary practitioners, adequate promotion prospects and time-bound promotions. These are their major demands.

Having realised the need to promote and support agriculture in the country, the Directorate of Extension under the Union Ministry of Agriculture formulated a scheme, providing incentives to agricultural extension workers. It is a welcome scheme. But I wonder why that scheme has not covered the workers in the veterinary and animal husbandary fields. Without livestock agriculture in India would come to a standstill. Therefore, the existing scheme of incentives be extended to the veter-